The Forum

NOVEMBER, 1922

MILLER FOR PRESIDENT

By X. M. C.

THE fight for the Governorship of the State of New York in the year 1922 will, perhaps, be noted in history as a campaign fought without regard to the issues. As far as the outsider can understand the situation, it is simply a case of "Al" Smith against "Nat" Miller.

Perplexing from many angles is this situation to the West, but particularly upon the angle of what is the proper and dignified treatment of the public official. As the West has dropped the familiar treatment of its office holders, with increasing respect for public office, it is interesting to see the conservative East drop into the easy colloquial form of expression. If the East keeps this up we may soon expect to see daily reference to "Hank" Lodge of Massachusetts, "Al" Beveridge of Indiana and "Chazzy" Hughes of New York.

"Nat" Miller and "Al" Smith are both "fine boys," I understand, and either will make a good Governor, but astounding is the statement that either will make a good candidate for President in 1924. And here is the rub. Less and less has the West come to take interest in New York

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elections, except as a matter of curiosity, because of the belief that the type of man who can succeed politically in New York cannot succeed in the rest of the country, especially in the West.

This is true of both parties. The reason is that the two sections of the country have different standards of success in life. It is true that Westerners go to New York, but it is generally only when they yearn for the fleshpots. A man works, lives happily and succeeds in the West, but if he is unfortunate enough to feel he is not making enough money, he moves to New York, and lives there a noisy, unhappy life, ending in divorce or being held up by some chorus girl. When he moves to New York, he has lost his soul.

This may or may not be so. But it is the impression of the Westerner who sits home and is satisfied to dwell in God's country with less money, but a little more religion, and certainly a great deal more regard for fundamental American principles. This does not mean that the country dislikes New York or New Yorkers. Far from it. The Westerner never has such a good time anywhere as he has in New York, but politically New York is the blight, as was seen by that wise statesman, the next Democratic nominee in all probability, William G. McAdoo, who sagely moved his Lares and Penates, wife and baby out to California, and bought himself a sombrero and an ancestral home amid the God-given sunlight of California.

The West, I think I can say conservatively, is, however, not much interested in Democratic possibilities in 1924, with the exception of Mr. McAdoo, who is now a Westerner, and possibly Mr. Bainbridge Colby, who, despite his Eastern clothes and New York manner, is still at heart a citizen of Missouri.

The West is interested in Republican candidates for a number of reasons. The Westerner today, despite general opinion to the contrary, is for President Harding. It is for his renomination, and while it may criticize him frankly for this measure or that measure, for this foolish appointment

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or that mistaken one, it still likes him. If for any reason it should believe that it would not be advisable to renominate him, it would turn with almost unanimity to Charles Evans Hughes, failing him to Albert Berveridge, or to William E. Borah, or to Hiram Johnson, or to Miles Poindexter, perhaps even to Senator Capper, or Senator Lenroot, or even to Medill McCormick. But when it would come to New York's "favorite" son, ninety-nine one-hundredths of the men who decide things politically in the West would exclaim, "Who in heaven is Nat Miller?"

Mr. Miller's candidacy for the Presidency frankly astounds me. He is a challenge, not only to the Harding administration, but to party leaders of the country. Let us remember that Mr. Miller was the man who nominated Herbert Hoover in the Republican convention in 1920. His action is still unexplained. The West is still unsatisfied over the explanations of his friends, but more important than that is the fact that Mr. Miller is today known throughout the country as the bitterest opponent of the Direct Primary.

The editor of THE FORUM, in asking me to write this article, wrote:

> "I am anxious to get the viewpoint of some Western middle-road Republican like yourself—a party leader who is not a candidate for the Presidency himself and who has no candidate of his own—one in fact who will give us a dispassionate view of the Governor as he is seen outside of New York State. * * * How, for instance, will the West receive his candidacy?"

It is easy to answer the last question first. I do not believe that the West will receive the suggestion of Governor Miller as President with any sympathy. He is unquestionably a man of ability, much greater ability than Smith. He undoubtedly has, in a marked degree, a quality that is most endearing to the American people and one much needed in public life—and that is courage. But Governor Miller's ability and his courage are both being utilized for the propagation of political ideas that will make him *persona*

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non grata west of Hoboken, if I understand the country aright.

The Direct Primary was a western idea and it is still considered in our country a bulwark against political corruption. The tendency in the West is to strengthen rather than to lessen participation of the enrolled members of the party in party affairs. It was a shock to many of us to learn that New York had repealed its Primary law and gone back to the discredited convention system when so many in the country believed that the next step in this reform should be the extension of federal regulation of the primaries electing delegates to a national presidential convention. The repeal of the Direct Primary in New York was, I understand, the direct act of Governor Miller. He would, therefore, come before the country as the exponent of an archaic system, objectionable in the extreme when it was abolished and particularly abhorrent in retrospect.

Undoubtedly the State of New York would present an impressive front if its seventy-six delegates were unanimous for their governor, but against them would be the delegates of every other northern state who would realize that the cry of reactionary once raised against a presidential candidate would give them the hardest fight of their lives, especially when so popular an institution as the Direct Primary was threatened.

But more important, if anything could be more important, than this particular impression will be the feeling, unless Governor Miller should make an open campaign for the nomination, that he is not of presidential statue and that there is nothing in his record to warrant thrusting aside many of the men famous in the country for their interest in national questions, men of unquestioned capacity and large following.

That Governor Miller would be foolish enough to make such a campaign is inconceivable, for then he would naturally have to openly attack President Harding and his entire

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Cabinet, except Mr. Hoover, and his most enthusiastic advisor would hardly urge that course. Let us consider the men that Governor Miller must challenge if he were an open candidate for the presidency. Among those in the people's minds at the present time, Charles Evans Hughes is his *facile princeps.* Secretary Hughes, however, is not a candidate and is perhaps the one member of the Cabinet, outside of Mr. Daugherty, whose loyalty to the President is 100 per cent. Any suggestion that he be a candidate would be promptly spurned for the last thing that he would do would be to enter into an intrigue against his chief.

On the other hand, there are thousands who think that one of the reasons that Governor Miller is being boomed for the presidency is that there are a number of politicians in New York who realize how strong Secretary Hughes is with the people. By having another candidate to present from New York State, they thereby choke off the possibility of getting Secretary Hughes, should President Harding decline a second term. It will be remembered that the experience of some New York politicians with Hughes when he was Governor was not of the happiest.

Another man who will challenge Miller is William E. Borah of Idaho. President Harding, like many others, has tried to work with Senator Borah and like many others has found it impossible, but despite that fact there are many in the West who feel that Borah has too much brain power to be lightly cast aside for what, after all, is a mere matter of temperamental angularity. If the bankers of the East are going to continually agitate the question of the cancellation of the war debts, it is quite possible that another line of demarkation is to be drawn in the Republican party between Western ideas and the Eastern ideas and that European, and not domestic, questions will decide the kind of man the Republican party will select. In this connection Hiram Johnson should not be forgotten. He has declared open war on Miller. And Borah and Johnson, no matter

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what the East may think of them, naturally will be of sufficient strength to defeat an Eastern candidate whose tendencies have been regarded as reactionary.

It is usual for distinguished statesmen like Senator George Moses to put themselves out of the running on the ground that it is not likely that another Senator will be chosen as the Republican standard bearer. Anyone who knows anything about national conventions knows that a man is not rejected as a candidate because he is a Senator. As a matter of fact, the Senate is a splendid training ground for Presidents. Medill McCormick, of whom it has been said that he is going to make the presidency in three jumps, would never be considered as a presidential possibility if it were not for the fact that he has been a very good Senator. Into this training ground there will come next year, in all probability, a former Senator, Albert Beveridge of Indiana. Of all the men who are in the field and who would be acceptable to the West and acceptable to the conservatives no one has more ability than Beveridge.

But the principal thought that every politician should get before him is, how can the Republican party successfully conduct a campaign if it should turn down the present incumbent of the White House? President Harding is an easy-going man in many ways, but, as he showed in the Bonus Veto, he has vigor and courage and he also has what many of the aspiring statesmen who would fill his shoes have not: he has the admiration and affection of the rank and file of his party.

UNDER SUCH STARS

By WALTER F. KOHN

Under such stars, and in such waxing moons,
Lovers shall speak in awed and whispered tones;
In woodland avenues pines shall drop their cones
To plumb thick silences like heavy stones. . . .
And in wide gardens, trees shall shadow tunes
With darkly mystic mutes, like overtones
In deep bassoons. . . .

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CAN THE MODERN GIRL LOVE?

By GILBERT FRANKAU

I AM getting middle-aged—nearly forty. And, like all middle-aged people, I am afraid I am a bit of a sentimentalist. When I read, therefore, as I constantly do read, of the manifold progress which the modern girl has made over her mid-Victorian and late-Victorian predecessors; when I hear, as I constantly do hear, of her efficiency as a business-girl, of her prowess as an athlete, of her achievements in the realms of art, science and literature, I cannot help asking myself the question which stands at the head of this article.

Can the modern girl love? The query, no doubt, will make the modern young woman laugh. She will say, arrogantly curling those lips to which the rouge-stick, which was once reserved for footlight-ladies, has added that touch of art without which we are told Nature cannot be perfect, "Why should I love? Love, after all, is mere soppiness."

Your modern girl is very fond of that word "soppy." She uses it, in fact, to describe most of those perfectly natural emotions which her mid- and late-Victorian predecessors were too prudish to discuss.

For there is nothing prudish about your modern girl. Her frankness devastates the middle-aged and paralyzes the old. She reads the most outspoken books. She attends the most outspoken lectures. She dances from early morn to dewy eve in a way which would have turned that extinct animal, the chaperone of the eighteen-nineties, the deepest pink of outraged decorum. She has, to sum up, no reticences either of thought, speech or action.

So, at least, the modern girl appears to a middle-aged fogey like myself. And yet I cannot deny that she possesses

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certain obvious good qualities. She is undoubtedly more capable, more intelligent and less mock-modest than her predecessors. She can handle racquets, cars, businesses, golf-clubs or cheque-books at least as well as, if not better than, the average man. Moreover—and this, I think, is the crux of the whole matter—she does most supremely know exactly what she wants.

But I do not feel that among those things which the modern girl most supremely wants, love in the best sense finds much place. She is rather a creature of sudden and febrile attachments, easily entered into and easily broken, than of that deep enduring affection which, for all their faults, was the beau ideal of her Victorian predecessors.

It is hardly fair, perhaps, to blame the modern girl for this curious and almost unfeminine trait in her character. Life as we live it today is a hectic and complicated affair wherein the quiet pleasures have little or no place. And your modern girl, being essentially of her period, is adapting herself to this phase of present-day existence. She does not, as her predecessors, *dream*. She has no time for dreaming. From the moment when she wakes in the morning until the moment when she goes to sleep at night, her every hour, her every minute is full. Hence, perhaps, her febrility, her contempt of those emotions which she calls "soppy."

I sometimes think that not only the modern girl, but almost all of us are suffering from this febrility—from the fact that our lives are so full of trivial interests and trivial emotions that we have little or no time to *think*. And I am nearly sure that unless and until we all of us, modern and middle-aged, girls and men, get back a little of that quietude, of that repose which was the prerogative of a more leisurely period, we shall end disastrously as mere mountebanks jig-jogging on the alternate wires of overwork and over-pleasure. All these new creeds, Spiritualism, Christian Science, Couéism, Socialism and Communism, are, as I see them, merely the attempts of people caught

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up in life to free themselves from its wheels. The world spins and spins, always faster, and we with it. In fact, the only thing which has slowed up at all seems to be the modern dance.

You have to watch the modern dance to see the modern girl at her most self-revealing. Regard her carefully, this be-painted, be-powdered, be-manicured product of our hectic age, as she circles the ballroom. She dances emotionally, but her emotions are for the rhythm and the music, not for the mere male, her partner. Even in a man's arms she is as nearly sexless as the ladies of the Lysistrata. Regarding her thus, one cannot help answering the question which stands at the head of this article in the most emphatic negative. No! Give her all her good qualities, her poise, her efficiency, her intelligence, and you will still be forced to admit that—judging her superficially—the modern girl is not capable of a great and enduring love. To begin with, she is too selfish, too self-centred, too set on the pursuit of what she considers pleasure, to abandon herself to that self-sacrifice which is love at its best. And then, perhaps, she is too wise.

For love, however one looks at it, is not a comfortable emotion. Love demands something more than a day on the river or an evening at a night-club for its fulfillment.

The poet who wrote:

"O Woman, in our hours of ease, uncertain, coy and hard to please,
"When pain and anguish wrack the brow, a ministering angel, thou!"

is altogether a back-number. One feels quite confident that the modern young woman, when faced with a sick husband, would send him to a nursing-home. A scheme of the utmost efficiency, but lacking, somehow or other, in charm—at least from a mere man's point of view.

There are, of course, many, many exceptions to the above strictures; many, many young women who, although outwardly modern, are quite capable both of love and, what is still more important than love, of love's fulfillment, matrimony. But there is not the slightest doubt that to the

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average young woman in this year of democratic grace, 1922, matrimony represents a state rather to be shuddered at than embraced with thankfulness. And the reason for this, as I understand it, is not very far to seek. In matrimony your mid- and late-Victorian young women saw, quite apart from anything else, their release from parental tyranny; whereas your modern young woman, having long ago reduced her parents to a state of baffled impotence, sees in matrimony only the tyranny of a man.

Sometimes I rather sympathize with the modern young woman in this point of view. As a single girl, after all, she has a pretty good time. Even if she is plain—and it is most extraordinary how few modern young women are really plain—she can always find some man to pay for her lunches, her teas, her dinners, her suppers and, possibly, her hats. Her own money, whether earned or inherited, she can spend on herself. In other words, she is even as the bachelor, but with more than the bachelor's advantages, because his expenses are her pleasures. But when she marries, she becomes a slave—a slave to her husband's caprices, to her servants' tantrums, to her flat, to her house or to her babies. This may be a very gross and material view of matrimony, but I am afraid that, subconsciously, it is the view which a great many of our modern young women have adopted.

Unfortunately, however, this is a view which, carried to its logical conclusion, means neither more nor less than the extinction of the race!

How, then, is this viewpoint, the viewpoint that love is merely "soppiness" and matrimony merely tyranny, to be combated? To me it seems that the remedy lies almost entirely with the modern young man. The modern young man has got to rid himself of the hallucinations of his mid-Victorian and late-Victorian predecessors. He has to learn, first and foremost, that if he wants to get married—and I think that, as things are today, the desire for marriage is far more potent in the male than in the female—he will have to

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regard his wife, not as a slave, but as a partner; in other words, he must realize the economic independence of modern womanhood.

Myself, I am and have always been a strong supporter of the civil contract in matrimony. Matrimony, after all, *is*—however much sentimental middle-aged fogeys like myself may like to regard it as a pure love-affair—a legal undertaking. And I think that it is high time for the young man of today to understand that his legal undertaking when he marries a self-supporting or an independent young woman is not confined purely and simply to housing her. The modern woman, you see, is something more than a mere domesticated pet. She requires her leisures, her pleasures and, more perhaps even than these, her full partnership rights.

These partnership rights are manifold; and they should certainly include an absolute obligation on the husband's part to pay for the time which the wife spends in running his house and looking after his children. This, perhaps, is rather a startling suggestion, but, after all, why should a girl who has been perfectly capable of keeping herself up to, say the age twenty-five, give the remainder of her life to her husband free of charge—contenting herself with the few pounds which he may or may not think fit to dole out to her as pocket-money? Surely, if a woman runs a man's house efficiently, looks after his servants and his children and makes him generally comfortable, she is just as much entitled to be paid for it as if she took down his letters from dictation or answered his telephone calls. The financial, though, is the least of those obligations which the man who marries the modern young woman is called upon to undertake. Marrying her, he becomes responsible, and most definitely responsible, for her health, for her happiness, for her duties as a citizeness. In brief, it is his duty to treat her, not as a domestic pet, but as an intelligent co-partner of his existence.

Let us hope, then, that when the modern young man has

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been educated up to this standpoint of husbandhood, the modern young woman will again consent to fall in love with him. But until that happy hour dawns, let us realize that love, as understood by poets, novelists and other romantic creatures, will continue to suffer its present eclipse, and the modern young woman continue to content herself with those febrile and hectic affairs which commence with a "pash" on Tuesday after lunch and end with a crash on Saturday after tea.

THE MYSTERIES

By ELIZABETH G. COATSWORTH

If I could paint I should paint only water,
Not seas, nor lakes, for all their surging colors,
Their patterns and their masked and flexible power—
I should paint, rather, unconsidered pools
That patch old worn-out meadows with the sky,
Ruts filled with rain dwindling to gray horizons,
Fountains like spires of falling light that shine
Between the shaded vistas of old trees
And wicked pools that glimmer in the dark.
A plain damp pavement is enough, I find,
To make new Venices stranger than the old
When the street lamps are lit.
There's poetry
Not to be laughed at in the interplay
Of lights on wet umbrellas in a crowd,
And I have yet to see
A puddle not well worth long contemplation.
How I wish for skill
To catch that grace of quiet coloring!
But that's beyond me, and words inexact—
One's understandings all are fugitive.

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WHAT FRANCE FEELS AND WANTS

By EDOUARD HERRIOT

THERE seems to have been so many misunderstandings in regard to the needs and wants of France that it may not be amiss to try to present the French point of view in an unbiased way. Of course, I cannot speak for all France, but I can speak for my party; that is, my views approximate those of the average liberal-minded Frenchman, who is opposed to the violent nationalism of the chauvinists, as well as to the uptopian dreams of the extreme left.

What France wants must be considered from two different standpoints: (1) what she wants as result of the war and the Treaty of Versailles (*i. e.,* Reparations, Guarantees, etc.) and (2) what she wants in order to strengthen her own position, industrially, commercially, intellectually, so as to live up to the traditions of her history.

In regard to settlements arising from the war and the Treaty—internationally, so to speak—France wants, first of all, the *Reparations* to which she is entitled, and the *Guarantees* which will ensure her national security.

This does not mean that we want Germany to pay a tribute to us because she was defeated, nor that we wish to reduce her people to a state of virtual slavery. But France does not want to play the role of dupe. We hear a great deal about Germany's ability or non-ability to pay, there are endless conferences and discussions, but the upshot of it all is that while France has been obliged to advance 80 billion francs for the reconstruction of the devastated areas, since the war, she has not received anything from Germany to balance this outlay. According to the Treaty reparations, charges are laid to Germany. But so far Germany has

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made no real effort to live up to her obligations. We realize that the German workingman suffers, and we pity him, but we do not pity M. Stinnes, M. Helfferich or M. Ludendorf, more belligerent than ever, and while we have no wish to crush Germany, we do not want France to be crushed, either. We do not see why the Frenchman should be more burdened with taxes than the German. And we claim that if Germany can afford to buy ships or build such magnificent docks as she has at Hamburg, she can afford to contribute efficaciously toward restoring the devastated territory of the North. And we ask all civilized nations to stand by us on this point.

In regard to guarantees, it is not perhaps sufficiently understood abroad that France is not an island like England, nor is she protected by two great oceans, like the United States. To remind us of our perilous geographic situation, we have the memory of the past. We have been invaded four times since the French Revolution, and the last war showed how quickly Germany could get to Paris—or, at least, very near Paris. France is extremely worried as to her national security, and until this anxiety is taken off her mind, she cannot co-operate effectively in the work for international understanding. If France felt that the United States or England would give us, not a formal agreement, even, of their co-operation in case we were attacked, but merely some sort of assurance of their backing and support, the situation would be a very different one. France's fear of the future would then be allayed in a great measure and we French democrats could fight more vigorously the insinuations of the nationalists and chauvinists who claim we are trying to disarm France, on the one hand, without getting anything to take the place of the armies we reduce.

France's position is a very difficult one. We, who know the German peril, and who would be the first to suffer from it, are told that our fears are exaggerated, and we are summoned to reduce our defense by the very nations who specifically refuse to come to our aid or even ratify international

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treaties signed by their delegates! "No, I won't help you if you're attacked," says the United States to France, and when France, left on her own, tries to prepare to defend herself, the same United States calls her militaristic! In regard to Reparations, France's position is equally involved. France can balance her own normal budget, but she cannot advance the money for the reconstruction of the devastated areas and pay her debts to America without being ruined unless Germany is made to pay France. Here again our allies do not seem to understand us. "We won't give up a cent of our claim on you," the United States says to France, and when France, in order to meet her obligations, tries to collect the Reparations due her, the United States holds up her hands in horror. "What? Exact the last penny of Germany! Do you want to bring about Germany's collapse?" How about France? How can France be expected to pay her debts if she is not allowed to collect what is owed her?

As I said before, the situation is extremely difficult for France, and a solution can be found only if a real attempt is made to understand what France feels and needs.

* * * * * * *

But the programme of the party I represent does not only consist in obtaining the reparations and guarantees France requires; our ambition is to make France so strong, from a commercial, industrial and economic point of view that *she can meet all her obligations even if Germany should fail her.*

In other words, our programme is a reconstructive one in the broadest sense.

France should take advantage of her metallurgic gains since the war and deliberately strive to become a great industrial nation. She has iron ore, and a good deal of coal. She has not enough coal, it is true, to compete with England, or Germany, but at the same time, by a wise development of electric motive power she ought to be able to electrify her railroads and so many of her factories that a

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larger quantity of coal could be devoted to steel industries, for instance.

Agriculturally, France should make a desperate effort to become one of the largest grain-growing nations. France, like the United States, is self-supporting, but hitherto she has not developed her colonial riches sufficiently, nor has she cultivated the soil scientifically. When this is done, France ought to rank among the first suppliers of raw materials in the world. France owns a colonial area of some 10 million square miles, and as many of these colonies are practically at her door—as in the case of Northern Africa—she ought to be able to co-operate with them very effectively.

And hand in hand with the industrial and agricultural development of the country, our programme calls for the development of the individual's initiative and personality. *Man must be cultivated as carefully as the soil.* Everything pertaining to education and mental growth should be encouraged. School programmes should be planned so as to develop intelligent, active, free people. Machinery should be perfected and labor laws improved so as to liberate human beings as much as possible from physical burdens and drudgery, thereby giving people time to develop their brains.

In regard to initiative, France could copy much in the United States. Research institutes, like your great agricultural laboratories, do away with the farmer's routine, for instance, and in France we should follow in your path. I have tried to do what I could in this respect by founding at Cibeins, near Lyons, a school of agriculture where modern scientific methods are studied and tested. I should be glad if it were possible to effect an exchange of ideas, etc., between this school and similar American institutions. American methods should be applied in many other fields as well.

However, France is seriously hampered by the problem

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of the birth rate. Its steady decrease is a constant menace, and all the activity displayed by this generation will be useless if the next generation is not large enough to carry out the programme.

I don't know how the birth-rate problems affect other countries, but in France it seems to me that the only way to combat the decrease in births is to respect and protect motherhood to the utmost, whether the woman be married or unmarried. As an example of the course I consider wise I have founded a home in Lyons for expectant mothers. Any woman who is about to have a child is received and given all possible care and medical attendance, *and no questions of any kind are asked.* The girls or women remain in the home till three months after childbirth and while they are in the home they are given special facilities to learn a trade, etc. On the same principal I have established municipal restaurants where mothers can eat free of charge without ever being asked to give their names or nationality. There are many other things I would do to favor motherhood if the necessary funds were forthcoming. But one thing is certain: sacrifices made to protect motherhood are not "charity," but "investments," since they are equivalent to strengthening and multiplying the race.

It is very difficult to give an adequate idea of what France feels and wants, in a short article. It must be remembered that war represents the need of a single moment, of one day. Civilization, work, peace, are the problems of eternity. France, as I know her, has no greater ambition than to follow historic tradition, not that of Napoleon, but that of Montesquiou, Voltaire and Rousseau. She wants to collaborate with all the nations of the world for the advancement of human civilization through peace and liberty.

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THE OVERGROWTH OF CITIES

By HAROLD COX

"Urbanization is the overwhelming factor in the causation of preventable disease."—Dr. W. A. Brend, "Health and the State."

ONE of the most serious problems for the present generation and one of the greatest dangers for its successors is the continuous aggregation of human beings in large towns. This phenomenon is world-wide. There is scarcely a country to be found, new or old, in which the urban population is not outstripping that of the rural districts. Take first the newer countries, and first of all the United States. New York is itself one of the most outstanding examples of urbanization. In the period of forty years, from 1880 to 1920, the population of New York City increased from 1,912,000 to 5,620,000, or very nearly threefold; in the same period the population of the rest of the United States—*i. e.*, the population of the whole of the United States with New York City abstracted—increased from 48,244,000 to 100,063,000, or less than two-fold. These figures show how New York is outrunning in its rate of growth the rest of the United States. But New York is only one of the great cities of the United States. There are many others which have grown at least as rapidly. Meanwhile the population of the rural areas has increased but slowly; in some of them, especially in the Eastern States, there has been an actual decline.

If we pass to Canada we find similar phenomena in progress. Between 1901 and 1911 the population of Canada increased rapidly owing mainly to the large volume of immigration, but the detailed figures show that the larger

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part of the increase was absorbed by the towns. According to the figures published in the Canada Year Book the increase in the urban population of Canada between 1901 and 1911 was 1,259,165; in the same period the increase in the rural population was only 576,163. Very nearly the whole of this rural increase was attributable to the great western provinces, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, now in process of settlement; in some of the older provinces there is an actual decline in the rural population.

The case of Australia is even more striking. The people of Australia are at this moment much perturbed about the smallness of the population of their island continent, and the various Australian governments are engaged in organizing in conjunction with the government of Great Britain large schemes for the transference of men and women from the overcrowded Mother Country to the empty spaces of Australia. But if the figures of the Australian population be examined it will be seen that the existing inhabitants of Australia show little desire themselves to occupy these vacant spaces. The total population of Australia on April 4, 1921, was 5,437,000, and of this total no less than 2,338,000 were resident in the six capital cities. Allowing for the other Australian towns, it may be said that half the population of this huge undeveloped continent is urban.

In Europe the tendency to urbanization has been in progress for many decades. In France in the middle of the nineteenth century the urban population was just over 25 per cent of the total; by the end of that century that proportion had risen to 40.9 per cent. It is important also to note that there was an actual as well as a relative increase in the French urban population down to the end of the nineteenth century, accompanied by a slight actual decrease in the rural population. These same tendencies were continued down to the outbreak of war. Germany tells a

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similar tale. Between 1871, when the German Empire was established by Bismarck, and 1900, the urban population increased from 36 per cent of the total to 54 per cent. It is further noticeable that a very large part of this increase was due to the growth of the bigger towns, namely those with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

In England the urbanizing tendency is even more marked than in France and Germany. The industrialization of England began towards the end of the eighteenth century and had made very great advances before the continent of Europe began to develop machine industry. Thus the urban side of English life began to acquire predominance nearly a hundred years ago, and that predominance has steadily increased and is still increasing. In 1851 the proportion of the English population living in urban districts was 50.2 per cent of the total; by 1921 that proportion had risen to 79.3 per cent. These figures hardly tell the full story, for in the north of England especially there is a considerable industrial population living in districts officially classified as "rural." It is within the truth to say that at least 80 per cent of the present population of England and Wales is living under urban conditions.

In this urbanization of the English population London plays a leading part. As far back as 1821 Cobbett, in his *Rural Rides,* inveighed against the overgrowth of London, which he spoke of as the Wen. London has never ceased to grow. Some of the central districts, it is true, have of increased facilities for locomotion, which have enabled the late years slightly declined in population, owing partly to town to spread outwards. But the central districts still remain painfully overcrowded, and the lot of their inhabitants is in some respects even worse than before, for they are farther removed from real country and their nerves are racked by larger and more rapid streams of traffic.

To give comparable figures showing the growth in the population of London is not easy, for London knows no

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boundaries. For statistical purposes there are at least three Londons—(a) the City of London, covering about one square mile, preserving many of its historic privileges and a few scattered traces of its ancient walls; (b) London proper, that comes under the control of the London County Council; (c) Greater London, namely the area comprised within the Metropolitan Police District. In the City of London the residential population has in the last few decades tended to decline, largely because of the greater concentration of business houses in the center of London, the residents being driven out to make room for more banks and offices and warehouses. But the day population of the City, brought in by omnibus and tramway and train, is probably greater than ever before. In a few districts adjoining the City a similar process is going on, these districts tending to become workplaces for people who sleep in the suburbs. For these reasons we probably get the truest picture of the numerical growth of the population of London by taking the figures for what is generally known as Greater London, for though that area still includes a few stretches of open ground, the whole of it is economically dependent on London and is being rapidly filled with houses, so that to borrow Cobbett's phrase, we have one continuous wen. In 1861 the population of Greater London was 3,223,000; in 1921 it was 7,476,000. To appreciate the full meaning of this last figure it is sufficient to add that it exceeds the population of the whole of the vast Dominion of Canada, that it exceeds the population of the continent of Australia with New Zealand added.

The conditions under which the larger part of this London population lives render the full enjoyment of human life impossible. The overcrowded houses look out onto narrow streets or onto squalid backyards. These streets are the only playground for the swarming multitudes of children, and it is pitiful to watch them organizing games in such unsuitable surroundings. Perhaps even more pathetic

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is the sight of the efforts made by some of the inhabitants to obtain some touch with kindly Nature by trying to grow flowers in these sunless streets, either in window boxes or even in basement areas. The social reformer talks glibly about sweeping away the slums and building new houses for the people. But how is that to be done? Writing on the London housing problem, the London *Times* in its issue of August 23rd, 1919, dealt with the case of Stepney. After giving particulars of the population and area of Stepney Borough—280,000 persons to 1,900 acres—the writer goes on:

> "Thus a population as large as those of some of the industrial cities of the provinces, but without any of the amenities of the parks or less cramped suburban districts which are to be found in them, is shut into a corner from which it cannot under present circumstances escape, and in which there is not room for it. * * * There is a network of narrow streets—passages would be a more accurate description of some of them—which out of working hours teem with humanity. From them open courts a little narrower and if possible even less airy and more thickly tenanted. * * * For space to build on, even if all other difficulties were out of the way, one can only look upward, and it needs no technical knowledge to see that the addition of a single story would be impossible without a rebuilding of the structure underneath."

But building upwards does not solve the problem; it only renders the conditions of life more inhuman. Where the houses are high there is less air and less sunlight, and the children belonging to the upper flats have fewer chances of playing even in the streets. In this respect indeed the present condition of London is better than that of New York, for the skyscraper in the American sense is practically unknown in London and many parts of England's capital are still covered with houses of only two stories high. This means that the dwellers in these districts, whether they be comfortable suburban folk, or most uncomfortable slum folk, are at any rate in touch with the ground without having to ascend long flights of stairs or to use elevators. In the suburban districts there is also

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generally a little bit of garden attached to the house.

In a book published in 1911 Mr. Edward Ewing Pratt dealt at length with the problem of congestion in New York. After noting the evils of congestion, the lack of privacy, the lack of proper light and ventilation, and the prevalence of disease, he went on to examine the causes of the overgrowth of New York City. Among these causes he gave a prominent place to the fact that the largest proportion of immigrants into the United States entered by way of the port of New York, and many were content to stop at the entrance gate. Without going further, they were able to find suitable jobs in New York factories, and especially in the clothing trade. For some reason not easily ascertainable the clothing trade has concentrated itself in New York City. Cloth which has been woven in New England or in the South is brought to New York to be cut and sewn into garments and many of the garments thus made return to the regions where the cloth has been woven or the raw cotton or raw wool produced.

Apart from these special causes affecting New York, Mr. Pratt enumerates a number of causes of urbanization which are common to the whole world. It seems to be universally true that, to quote his words, the greater the city becomes the greater attractive force will it exercise. Women in particular have a strong preference for town life. The town offers much greater facilities for women's special work of housekeeping. In addition, women like the gaiety of the crowded city, the increased liberty it gives them, the increased opportunities of enjoyment. Many men share this preference, though on the whole, comparing the two sexes, man seems to lean more to the country than woman does. But men have one strong motive for seeking urban employment, that the relationship between employer and employed is more favorable to the employee in town than in country. The reason is very simple. In a country district there is, comparatively speaking, little choice of employment. Con-

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sequently if the employee quarrels with his particular employer he may be left stranded; whereas in a great town he can find new employment, possibly in the next street. This consideration, it must be pointed out, is a serious obstacle in the way of the establishment of garden cities, now being much advocated in England.

Another general explanation of the growth of great cities throughout the world lies in the fact that by concentrating industry into small areas the cost of carriage in many cases is reduced, at any rate for the smaller miscellaneous materials that each factory requires. The element of time as well as the element of distance here plays an important part in the consideration. A factory suddenly finding itself short of some particular subsidiary material can telephone to the producer of that material who may be working within less than a mile, so that in a few hours at the utmost the deficiency can be made good. In addition there is probably what can best be described as an automatic increase due to the *vis inertiae*. Newton's great law—that all bodies tend to continue moving in a straight line, except so far as they are compelled by external forces to change their direction—apparently applies to the movements of living as well as of inert masses. When a town has acquired the habit of growing it goes on growing until some great external change compels it to stop and perhaps to decay.

Except indeed on this hypothesis it is difficult to explain how a great town should continue ever to grow greater in spite of the various influences which counter-balance those above mentioned as tending to stimulate growth. As contrasted with the woman's love of urban life, is the mother's desire that her children should have fresh air and room to play. As contrasted with the economy in the cost of conveyance of subsidiary materials is the expense of hauling the main raw materials from the country where they are produced to the urban center where they are manufactured. In the case of New York, to revert to the clothing trade,

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these main materials must be dragged many hundreds of miles and the completed product sent back again. Nor is the industrial advantage which the workmen secures by obtaining employment in town rather than in country a pure gain to him, for though he is less dependent on one employer he is subject to a much greater cost of living, and under less comfortable conditions. He has to pay more for his house, more for many articles of food; and often he has to pay, in addition to a high house rent, the cost of daily transport for himself, whereas if he were working in a comparatively small district he could live fairly close to his work.

Indeed the cost of transport for human beings in large towns of the size of London and New York is becoming an ever-increasing difficulty. What was an advantage has become a disadvantage. Both these great cities have been compelled to try and deal with the problem by burrowing underground, a fact which itself ought to suffice to condemn the overgrowth of great cities, for it is clearly uneconomic to go to the expense of constructing long tunnels to take the place of surface roadways. Yet when a town grows beyond a certain size these long tunnels, as the experience of Paris as well as London and New York clearly shows, become a necessity. A similar consideration applies to the overhead railway in New York, with the additional objection that this railway is perhaps one of the most horrible methods of transport that human beings have ever invented; it darkens the lower portions of the houses in the streets through which it passes, and deafens the inhabitants of the upper portions.

Another human and economic evil arising from large towns is the loss of light. In towns like London, where soft coal is still very largely used both for manufacturing purposes and for domestic heating, the daily output of smoke appreciably reduces the light throughout the city. Even more important is the loss of light due to narrow

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streets and high houses. Of necessity the lower rooms in districts where houses are high and streets are narrow are deprived of a great deal of the light of the sky. In many rooms artificial light is necessary the whole day long. The aggregate cost of the extra artificial illumination which is required in towns as compared with country districts is enormous. It may be written down as sheer waste.

As regards health the effect of smoke is probably even more injurious than the absence of light due to the high houses. On this point a great deal has been written in England by medical officers of health, and much of the evidence which they have collected is cited in the book quoted at the head of this article by Dr. William A. Brend on "Health and the State."

> "Dirtiness of the air appears to be the one constant accompaniment of a high infant mortality. Purity of the atmosphere is the one great advantage which the agricultural laborer of Wiltshire, the Connaught peasant and the poverty-stricken crofter of the Highlands enjoy over the resident of the town. In the opinion of the writer, a smoky and dusty atmosphere as a cause of infant mortality far transcends all other influences."

Dr. Brend elsewhere gives figures which go a long way towards showing that children even in the worst districts of the great urban centers of England and Scotland are born physically strong, but that the conditions under which they live rapidly lower their vitality in each succeeding week of life. This point is strongly confirmed by the report of the Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages for England and Wales for the year 1916. He writes:

> "The total (infant) mortality in the urban areas as a whole exceeded that in the rural by nearly 25 per cent, but this excess was very unevenly divided over the different age periods into which the first year of life is divided. * * * The chances of survival seem to differ but little at birth in town and in the country, but the noxious influences of the former soon come into play and make themselves felt to an increasing extent as the first year of life progresses and to a still greater extent in the second and third years, when the urban excess generally approaches 100 per cent, thereafter generally declining."

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The following table comparing infant mortality in large towns and rural districts of England and Wales emphasizes the same lesson. It will be noticed that London shows a better record than the other large towns, the reason being that London is largely a residential as well as a business and manufacturing center. Its residential areas accommodate large numbers of extremely wealthy people living in every condition of comfort that money can buy. Moreover many of the residential areas of London, such as Hampstead, are peculiarly healthy districts with large open spaces surrounding them. It is these facts which improve the average records of London as compared with those of more concentrated manufacturing towns.

INFANT AND CHILD MORTALITY

In England and Wales During the Period 1911-1914.

	Deaths Per 1,000 Born	
	Infants Under 1 Year	All Children From 0-5 Years
London	108	164
Large towns (over 50,000)	122	188
Rural Districts	90	125

It is, however, unnecessary to press this point further. No one can doubt that the health conditions in a country district are much better than those for persons of the same social position in a crowded urban district. The matter is indisputable. The only question that remains is whether it is possible and if so by what means to stem the tide of urbanization which is now proceeding throughout the world. The idea much advocated in England of establishing garden cities where manufactures can be carried on is at first sight extremely attractive, but when one comes to examine the facts one quickly discovers that in spite of the large amount of enthusiastic effort devoted to this end in England in the last twenty or thirty years it has only resulted in producing at most two or three garden cities with an aggregate population which probably does not represent

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a tenth part of the growth of the great urban centers in the same period. It may be that in the course of centuries these garden cities will be sufficiently developed to play a really important part in the life of England, but for the present their growth is altogether insignificant in comparison with the continued overgrowth of the great towns.

Nor can the problem be settled, as many people hastily urge, by moving the surplus population of the great towns to the still uncultivated areas of the world's surface. Not only are the vast majority of urban residents unwilling so to be moved, but even if they could be moved they would not be fit for the work required of them. The problem of emigration is occupying many minds in England at the present time, but even those people who are most enthusiastic in their advocacy of schemes for wholesale emigration from overcrowded England to her under-peopled Dominions declare unanimously that only those people can be taken who are competent to face the conditions of rural life in a new country, and very few such people are to be found now living in overcrowded towns. Town life in a word tends to destroy the capacity for rural work.

Looking at all the facts one is driven to the conclusion that the continued overgrowth of already overgrown towns cannot be prevented as long as the population itself continues to grow. If increasing numbers come into the world, those increasing numbers will mainly add to the already excessive overcrowding of urban areas. Moreover, the urban areas themselves are largely responsible for the growth of population which produces their own overcrowding. For in most countries the birth rate tends under present conditions to be appreciably higher in urban than in rural areas; while the excessive urban birth rate is not completely balanced by the high urban death rate. It is difficult, therefore, to see how the world-wide evil of urbanization can be diminished except by checking the growth of the world's population.

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DEFECTS OF MODERN HIGHWAYS

By EDWARD G. SMITH

UP to a few years ago the well-built macadam road gave good service at reasonable first cost and low up-keep, but with the coming of the fast auto and the heavy auto truck, it is breaking down.

Within recent years various forms of hard smooth-surfaced roads have been experimented with, but the results have not been satisfactory. In the first place neither the hard smooth-surfaced tar composite road or the solid concrete is fit for continuous horse travel. In cold wet weather the tar road is dangerous for horses, and in all seasons the concrete road has the same defect, as all horsemen know. They are also unsafe for the auto, or truck, as most of the serious accidents are caused by skidding on these hard smooth surfaces, when wet or frozen.

Sharp calks on horses or chains on auto wheel or truck cannot always be relied on, especially on steep grades, as horseman and autoist have found out to their sorrow.

As roller-skating rinks, these surfaces might be a success, but for every-day commercial uses as roadways they are not desirable.

Another serious defect in construction is that no suitable provision can be made for air drainage—that is, drainage of water by evaporation from underneath the surface—which is just as necessary as drainage by side-ditching. Sooner or later, water gets under the road bed, saturating the whole sub-soil, when, seeking an outlet, partly by evaporation, is confronted by a pie-crust sealed surface of tar composite or concrete, which "Old Mother Nature" at once opens up until her needs are satisfied.

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I was over a 16-foot concrete road of six miles in length, a few days ago, that was built last summer at an expense of over forty thousand dollars per mile, and was supposed to be the last word in construction, with lateral expansion joints placed every fifty feet or so, and this is what I found: For the whole six miles, irrespective of the nature of the soil, whether clay, slate, gravel or sand, openings and crevices running from expansion joint to expansion joint all irregular, but all running lengthwise of the road. "Mother Nature" evidently has her own ideas as to expansion joints, and thinks that longitudinal are just as necessary as lateral, and this road is not yet one year old.

We all know how expensive it is to keep our roofs watertight, and here we are adding millions of dollars per annum to our roofing bill, by trying to roof in our roadways—a gold mine for our tar and cement men, but a bankrupt proposition for the tax-payer. The modern highway builder is either ignorant or ignores altogether the physical changes that occur on the earth's surface by expansion and contraction under varying conditions of temperature and moisture.

Where there is an expensive system of sewers, as in cities, sealed pavements can be laid with more or less success, but even under these favorable conditions, eruptions occur entailing costly up-keep; but when you try to seal up the earth's surface through the open country, over hill and dale, for a width of fifteen to twenty feet, you are inviting trouble of the most continuous and expensive kind.

Macadam, the Scotchman, in his time was evidently well aware of this, and no tar composition, or concrete, or anything else that would interfere with surface evaporation was used in his road construction.

The engineer of the railroad bed also knows this and does not allow its surface to be sealed over by tar, concrete or any waterproofing material. The problem to be solved is carrying a weight on wheel and axle over the earth's surface. How well the railroad builder has solved it is quite apparent, when we see him every day, in all kinds of climate, and

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over all sorts of soil, carrying from seventy-five to two hundred tons on wheel and axle, at the rate of twenty-five to fifty miles per hour, and his road bed and the tools he builds it with are practically the same all over the world. In fact, a universal method has been adopted by rail engineers which gives the most efficient results, and when railroad cars' loads were increased from twenty tons to fifty tons, and locomotive weights from one hundred tons to two hundreds tons and over, as they have been within the last few years, these rail engineers were equal to the occasion, while our highway engineers are crying out against the terrible weight of five- or ten-ton trucks, which, compared with the average railroad freight car, are simply a "child's go-cart," and our modern highway builder cannot carry these trucks even on a cushioned rubber wheel on his tar composite roadways. Why is it that the results as regards the railroad bed are so efficient, in contrast to the costly inefficiency of our highways, to perform exactly the same service, viz.: carrying a weight on wheel and axle over the earth's surface?

To the ordinary citizen who has not become an "expert" or an "efficiency bug" by too much "text-book knowledge," it would seem that the thing to do, and do at once, would be to apply to highway construction, partially at least, some of the methods used universally by the railroad builder, and standardize highway building, both as to construction and tools used the same as railroad building has been standardized for years.

As highway and street construction is carried on now, various kinds, such as brick, stone blocks, solid concrete and tar composite are experimented with, each requiring different machinery and tools, and each said to be by its interested advocates the "Ultima Thule" in road building. This lack of standardization as regards construction and tools is costly in the extreme and should be eliminated.

Before going further as to a remedy, I want to say a few words more in regard to tar composite roads.

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The tar composite road, and by this I mean all roads using tar or tar-like products to make their surface waterproof, fares even worse in this northern climate than the concrete. Its surface after a year or two breaks out all over with eruptions to alllow "Mother Earth" to get the "frost out of her bones" in the spring, so that after a season or two it has to be patched and repatched to such an extent that it looks like an old-fashioned "crazy quilt." I saw it stated in some paper lately that the up-keep cost of this description of road for seven and one-half years is so high that it would be more economical to tear it up and rebuild. And from what I learn, the same condition exists in other localities.

That a radical change must be made is apparent to all that have to use the roads commercially, and these "joy-riding" roads now breaking down must be replaced by something more substantial and built along entirely different lines. "What has been is no indication of what will be," and there is no reason why we should not have a standard method of building roadbeds that would be applicable to highway or byroad alike, and would take care of the heavier traffic now going over all roadways.

The railroads have such a system whereby cars, irrespective of load, are transferred from trunk line to the one-track branch road and *vice versa,* every day. This is transportation of the right sort, that takes care of the small village as well as the largest city. Railroad cars may be on some little one-track road in Kansas loading wheat, oranges from California, or cotton from the South, and in a week or ten days be unloading in New York City or Chicago, and this is what the rail engineer accomplishes with his standardized railroad bed built alike all over this country, Canada and Mexico, and with practically the same machinery and tools. So that a railroad builder finishing a job here on the New York Central can pick up his tools and go to any part of this country, Canada or Mexico, and start on a similar job without delay. With this example of thorough efficiency before them, it seems as if our Federal and State Highway

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Departments, with their large force of engineers, should have given us, before this, a standardized method of constructing a roadway suitable for turnpike or byroad, so that traffic light or heavy could travel over either at will. In other words, build a transportation system, and not a few boulevards.

Up to the present the by or crossroads and the people on them have been neglected all over the country, notwithstanding the fact that more farmers and their families live on byroads than on turnpikes—when tax-lists are made up they are always counted "as present," but when road improvement is being done they are ignored. This has been done to such an extent in this (New York) State that the people feel outraged.

Roads have been built to pleasure resorts for the use of our "American Nabobs," for a month or two in the summer, while good farming communities in the very same county are left to wallow in the mud. We have such a case up at Albany now and we are "waiting anxiously" for our highway servants to render their decision. This is certainly a curious phase of our modern brand of democracy, when the "masters" have to "wait anxiously" for a decision from their "servants."

For the past six years I have been taking a course in roadway matters. Not a college course, correspondence course or a political course, but what you might call an "unusual course." After a three months' stay in the hospital the doctors recommend a five- or six-mile walk every day, rain or shine, and since then I have studied the roadways in this locality, actually from the "ground up," and have, at times, helped farmers or teamsters to get their horses on their feet, and autoists and auto-truck drivers to get out of the ditch, hard, slippery surfaces and over-crowding, together with wet weather, being the main causes for these accidents. I think it was Benjamin Disraeli who said, "Language was given us to conceal our thoughts," but if he was alive today and had heard the language I have

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listened to from ditched farmers, truck drivers and autoists he would revise his ideas, and state that "language is not adequate enough to express our thoughts" in some situations. The roadway was denounced, its builders and designers, all in the most vivid English it has ever been my good fortune to hear, and these little essays on roads and road-makers invariably wound up with a fervent wish not only as to the present welfare of road builders, but their future, and it was never in Heaven.

PISCATRIX

By PIERRE LOVING

She peers down
Through the Great Bear and the Little Bear,
Which are her outflung fishing nets,
To the intenser pools of the robins-egg-blue sea.
The little white hands of her aspiration
Are cupped, childlike, as they draw up
The impassioned indigo bloom of deep-sea water,
And the colors start tremulous argument and debate,
Saying:
"We are as perfunctory guests
Arrived too late
At a well-filled table;
We are as alien flame
Licking the fire-veined feet of the dawn;
We are as love,
Slack-winged,
Coming to lovers already fused by their first quarrel;
We are but color returning
To the overbrimmed springs of all color. . . .
Let us slip back, like unsheathed swords of sun-ray, into the sea,
Into the paler middle sky
Bearing on our hunched-up porter's back
Bales and bales of blue compact, of swift blue essence
Looted from her eyes."

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THE NEW YORK CAMPAIGN—I

VIEWS OF THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE

By HON. NATHAN L. MILLER

THE issue in the present gubernatorial campaign in the State of New York is clear-cut and sharply defined. This issue is the business conduct of the State administration—the State government. Other issues may have a greater appeal to particular individuals or groups, but there is no other subject which so clearly or so vitally involves the welfare of all the people as the system and the method of conducting public affairs. The people of this State have a choice between two administrations of whose record they have knowledge, and it is for them to decide whether they wish a continuance of the present government, or a return to the government of two years ago.

The Democratic platform consists of two parts. The first consists of accusations. The second consists of promises. Among other things this platform says:

"They"—meaning the Republicans—"have increased the cost of Government, manipulated the reports of State finances to conceal the extravagance and waste of their administration. Official reports show the appropriations for State government in the two years of the Smith administration were $241,000,000 and for the two years of the Miller administration, $285,000,000, an increase of $44,000,000. Governor Miller has been a cunning juggler of facts and financial statements, but the taxpayers' burden has not been lightened. By sham reorganization of State departments they have debased the Civil Service and increased the cost of county and municipal government."

If that charge can be supported, we are not entitled to the continued confidence of the people. If it cannot be sup-

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ported—if, on the contrary, the reverse is true, then those who prefer that charge are not entitled to a return of the people's confidence.

The Smith administration came into power on January 1, 1919, at a time when there was the greatest need and the greatest opportunity to practice economy in government. We had gone through a period of inflation due to an unexampled expansion of the public credit, and through a period of extension of government activity incident to the war. The State expenditures in seven years, including the war periods, and the per capita cost of government had almost doubled in this State. It was imperative, if we were to absorb the shock of inevitable deflation, that the people's savings should not be absorbed by government, but that they should be utilized, and that it should be possible for them to be utilized to the reorganization and readjustment of industry. The necessity was there; the paramount duty was there; the unexampled opportunity was there because of this period of inflation and extension of government activity through which we had passed.

Now, what happened?

Appropriations in 1918 in this State had reached $81,000,000. In two years they jumped to $145,000,000, an increase of $64,000,000—almost three times the cost of conducting the State government twenty years ago, and one and one-half times as much as the total increase in seven years, including the period of war inflation. It is true, and will probably be said, that the Legislature was Republican, but the Legislature cannot control expenditure; the Legislature cannot control administration. The Legislature can, to some extent, limit expenditure, but it is dependent, for the most part, upon the department heads for the estimates of the needs of the government. It is true, to be entirely fair, that there was one increase of considerable size, that was legitimate and proper, and that no one can question. There was an increase the second year of $21,000,000 raised by the direct mill and a half tax for the support of the public schools—for the in-

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crease of the teachers' wages. That was a legitimate increase and we have still further increased it. But even that, in part, should have been absorbed out of savings or economies which were possible. The appropriations had increased in seven years, about $40,000,000. In two years, under the Democratic administration preceding this, they had increase $64,000,000. The requests submitted by department heads for the year 1920 totalled $145,000,000—the amount of the appropriations. There was, in fact, a reduction of $20,000,000 from that because those requests had not included the increase for teachers' wages. But notwithstanding the increase and the fact that the campaign of 1920 had been conducted upon the issue of economy, that outgoing administration made up its estimates of the expenditures for the State government for the next year—on a scale exceeding even the high figures of the previous year.

And what do you think they were?

Not $145,000,000, the figures of the year before, but $206,000,000!

Those were the figures which the outgoing Democratic administration submitted to the Legislature as their estimate of what it would cost to run the State government the ensuing year. Am I justified in saying that the lust to spend had grown by what it fed on? Am I justified in saying that the doors of the State Treasury had been thrown wide open?

Then what happened when the present administration began its work?

We had promised the people that we should stop the mounting cost of government. It looked as if we had an almost impossible proposition. But, on the first of January we had laid on the table requests for appropriations involving an increase of more than $60,000,000. I asked the leaders of the Majority in each branch of the Legislature to sit down with me, and we agreed upon certain principles which should govern the making of appropriations, and then we made another important agreement—that we

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would not deviate from those principles at the behest or insistence of anyone whomsoever. The Legislature kept its part and when it had finished I signed the appropriation bill exactly as it came to me without dotting an "I" or crossing a "T."

And that appropriation covered items aggregating not $206,000,000, as was requested, not $145,000,000 as was given the preceding year, but $135,000,000 only for which revenue had to be raised. The next year we did not stop there, but we continued the reduction $2,500,000 more, and we did that notwithstanding the fact that in the first year—with all their extravagant appropriation, the outgoing administration left $10,000,000 of deficiencies for us to take care of; and, notwithstanding the further fact that the second year, with two consecutive decreases in the cost of government we took care of added requirements for education, for public health, for capital expenditures and for public improvements, aggregating more than an extra $12,000,000 in excess of what had been appropriated under the preceding administration.

Now, that is the plain record as to appropriations. I am not taking credit for the substantial decreases in State expenditures made in two consecutive years, which is a thing unheard of in the State government. The reason it was possible to do that was that my administration was preceded by the most wasteful, the most demoralized administration in the history of the State. I am not charging wrongful conduct. I am merely stating that the State government was run by favor instead of for the purpose of performing the public service.

Former Governor Smith says that our appropriations for the two years were $44,000,000 more than his for the two years. But there is a "joker" in that statement. He started the first year at a rate of $81,000,000. The first year he spent $95,000,000. He had only got started. The second year set the pace which we had to meet, and now, he asks us to compare, not with the second year, but with the low

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year before his momentum had really got well up, and I am perfectly willing to take that basis of comparison. The figures of the State Comptroller prove that even upon that basis—even taking his low as well as his high year—the actual cost of administering the State government under the Smith administration was reduced under the Miller administration by $11,000,000.

Former Governor Smith says that the official figures show his administration was conducted more economically than mine. I know what his "official" figures are. They are the figures embodied in a financial statement of the State's actual business transactions for the past few years, which I asked the Comptroller to prepare for me, and I asked him to give it to our Democratic friends, too, so they could pick it to pieces if they wanted to. Now, this is what the figures show: There are two elements in the cost of government. One is the cost of government proper, which we divide for our accounting purposes, into "Personal Service" and into "Maintenance and Operation." The first contains the things, that, by good administration, you can reduce. The other branch includes fixed charges, like the interest and sinking fund, moneys for debt service, contributions, like the return that is paid to the localities for the support of the public schools—items that are fixed by statute, which cannot be changed unless you change the law, and capital expenditures or permanent improvements; also public improvements such as the New York-New Jersey Vehicular Tunnel for which we have appropriated $10,000,000 and more.

Now, the sum total of the present two-years administration, for fixed charges, for contributions for capital expenditures, exceed the like expenditures or appropriations made by the preceding administration by the sum of $64,000,000. There was one decrease for debt service of nearly $7,000,000, so that the net increase was not $64,000,000, but about $57,000,000. But appropriations really are not the test. Any student of government will say that expenditures

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are the test. The year ended June 30, 1921, was the year for which the last Democratic administration made appropriations of $145,000,000. Our expenditures for that year were not $145,000,000. They were $135,000,000—$10,000,000 less than the appropriation—the largest unexpended balance of appropriations at the close of any fiscal year in the history of the State. Six months of that year were under the present administration. We could not control the appropriations, but we could limit expenditures, and on January 1, 1921, a new spirit of spending what was actually necessary instead of spending all that could be extracted from the State Treasury, prevailed.

Now, that is the record. It has not been secured by any parsimonious cheese-paring economy. We have taken care of all the needs of the State government. More has been spent for various purposes, like education and health and attendants in public institutions than by the former administration. But we have done something else. We have put the State on a pay-as-you-go policy. We did not borrow. When I entered office the appropriations for good roads were practically gone, except dribbles here and there—remnants allotted to the counties. We have put the completion of our highway system on a pay-as-you-go basis. We are building our good roads out of current revenue. We built more miles of good roads last year than were ever built in one year before in the history of the State.

The State had issued $20,000,000 in bonds for the canal terminals, and when my administration came in those bond moneys were gone and the terminals were not completed. It was suggested that we ought to submit a referendum to the people and have bonds issued to complete those terminals, but we did not do it. However, we are completing those terminals and we are putting in something that we never had before—terminal machinery to handle freight in modern ways; and we are putting in shops along the canal to take care of the equipment; and we are starting the development of electric energy from the surplus waters

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of the canal and we are paying for every dollar of it as we go along out of current revenues.

Another rule we started was that department heads had to learn to keep expenditures within the means of the State. They did. The year rolled around and the wards of the State were better cared for and better clothed than they had ever been before. The department heads submitted their estimates for the next year and those estimates showed, not deficiencies, but surpluses. We had given them more than they needed, with the new spirit of the administration under which the public business was being conducted.

The Democrats say:

"There are 40,000 insane patients crowded into buildings designed to contain only 30,000, but the Republican Legislature, under coercion of Governor Miller, failed to provide for the relief of the disgraceful conditions that prevail in order to sustain his fraudulent boasts of economy."

What are the facts?

Crowding in the State hospitals? Yes, there has been crowding for more than ten years. For more than ten years the population has increased faster than the capacity has increased, until this year, for the first time in ten years, we are actually installing beds faster than the population is increasing. Fifteen hundred additional beds have been already installed or will be shortly installed in the various hospitals and the normal increase of hospital population is only eight hundred a year. We have provided for new hospital construction next year to the extent of $5,000,000 —all that can be economically expended. We have done another thing in the hospitals. We have introduced curative methods. We have provided special appropriations, in addition to field and clinical work—outside of specially-trained instructors, in occupational therapy. That is the way to cure people whose minds are diseased.

Again, the Democrats say that the taxpayers' burdens have not been lightened.

What is the fact?

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We reduced the direct State taxes last year $13,000,000. We have reduced them this year $16,000,000—$29,000,000 in all and $17,000,000 of that amount comes out of the City of New York. The cost of the government of the City of New York under a Democratic administration has gone up $70,000,000. I cannot prove that the increase would not have been $87,000,000 if we had not saved the city $17,000,000. There has been no new taxation, but there has been reduction in direct taxation. And another thing: there has been a falling off in indirect revenues due to the business depression through which we have been going.

The Democrats say we have taken money from the surplus. The surplus, on June 30, 1920, the last full fiscal year of the preceding administration, was $31,000,000. On June 30, 1921, in which year there were six months in the present administration, the surplus increased to $45,000,000. The surplus at the end of last year was $41,000,000. That was too high. We have no business to have so much money in the State Treasury. It ought to be in the people's pockets. It never should have been collected in the first place.

Under the preceding administration direct taxes went up $22,000,000. To be fair, that was to provide money for the common schools. We are providing two-thirds of that money now out of current revenue and not out of direct taxes.

And what about the indirect taxes? The so-called manufacturers' tax, or the tax on manufacturing corporations of three and one-half per cent, was placed in 1917. That tax, under the Smith administration, was jumped to four and a half per cent. Part of the return went to the localities, but the increase in the part that went to the State government for the expenses of the State government the second year of the Smith administration was $14,000,000.

But that is not all. Under the Smith administration they passed the personal income tax. For the first time in this State we had a personal income tax. The Democrats think they can get some votes by putting a plank in their platform

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in which they advocate the increase of the personal exemption to $5,000. I do not think that the electorate of the State can be so easily caught. But it was the Smith administration that put the present personal income tax on the books, and it is there now precisely as it was written under that administration. It yielded $17,000,000 for the expenses of the State government during the second year of Governor Smith's administration. In two years that administration increased direct taxation $22,000,000 and indirect taxation $32,000,000. Of course that was attendent upon gross extravagance in government. Do you think that the people of the State of New York felt that? Do you think that the industries of the State of New York felt the withdrawal of $54,000,000 which otherwise would have gone to turn the wheels of industry, to have enabled men and women to earn bread and clothing for themselves and their children?

My adversary has seen fit to draw his lance against what he is pleased to term the "Special Interests." I have no appeal to make to special interests. There is nothing that has occurred at Albany in the past two years that has been pleasing to the special interests. And I care not whether by "Special Interests" Mr. Smith means the sinister corporate interest of a kind which always wants to get a little the best of it at public expense, or whether he means the kind of interest represented by agitators—by those who, styling themselves workers, get a living by working the workers. I do not care whether he means those influences which, by devious and dark methods, seek to get special favors from the government, even to polute the very streams of government, or whether he means those special groups which, either for self-exploitation or for selfish reasons, attempt to wheedle, intimidate, and threaten public servants into a desired course of action, either by a promise or a menace of political power, and by that, of course, I mean voting power. These interests all look alike to me. They are not equally corrupt, but they are equally sinister and their influences are demoralizing to orderly and stable government.

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I am not condemning group action or united action. Accomplishments nowadays can be only made by the united efforts of those who have a common purpose and a common interest. I am condemning merely the abuse of the power which such action affords. No citizen of the State of New York can say, no group of citizens can say that the door of the Executive Chamber at Albany has not been open to him or to them, or that any reasonable appeal in support of any worthy measure to promote the general welfare has fallen upon deaf or inattentive or unresponsive ears.

But those who have axes to grind, those who have favors to seek, those who are not satisfied with a square deal, but want the best of it, have no use for the present administration. Such persons will not be with me. And I speak for myself when I say, I do not want them to be with me.

PHANTASM

By BERNARD RAYMOND

There is a pumpkin moon
Swelling in the tree-tops
Bursting through the shaken leaves,
And the clover fields shudder and sigh,
The damp fields.

Under a pumpkin moon
The road stretches out to nowhere;
Wrapped in long tatters of mist,
Loses itself at the edge of the world.
All the little dogs
Yap-yap at a shadow slipping along the road,
A short-legged shadow
Bobbing along between damp fields,
Singing under a pumpkin moon.

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THE NEW YORK CAMPAIGN—II

VIEWS OF THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE

By HON. ALFRED E. SMITH

WHEN a political campaign is in progress the intelligent voter, without regard to party, is desirous of knowing the plans and purposes that each candidate has in view in the event of success at the polls. If the candidate be honest, he will clearly and concisely lay out his program before the public. If he intends to give the people the best administration of which he is capable he will have nothing to conceal and his statements in speech and written documents will be straightforward and to the point. If, on the other hand, the candidate either personally does not intend to give the people a fair and impartial administration, or is governed by influences which will not permit him to do so, he will not be outspoken in explaining his plans, but will resort to camouflage and seek to conceal his real purposes by creating phantoms of false philosophy, substituting fiction for fact, and juggling figures into a jumble of confusion by a trick system of arithmetical legerdemain.

For a generation the Republican party of New York State has maintained a bureau within the State Committee for the purpose of spreading propaganda throughout the State at all seasons of the year. The members of this bureau largely rely upon the assumption that the majority of our citizens believe everything they read and seldom attempt to get at the facts. More than a year ago this press bureau began working overtime to picture Governor Miller in the imagination of the people as a man who had solved all the great problems pressing the State for solution. They have pictured his administration to be one of splendid efficiency and unequaled economy. They have pictured him as favor-

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ing welfare and labor legislation. They have held him up as the friend of the man in the street; the friend of labor; the friend of the farmer, the disabled soldier and the chief apostle of everything that is good and progressive.

But what are the facts?

He has not solved any of the important problems of the State nor has he brought about any accomplishments of lasting benefit to the State or the people of the State. He has learned, now in the second year of his administration that a Governor, to be successful, must make some appeal by action, as well as by words, to the millions of people who make up our State. And, so by enlarging in his reports and speeches the few minor achievements of his administration, he has drawn a picture of himself for election purposes that bears no resemblance to the real Governor Miller.

Now, it so happens that I have a fondness for official documents. Statements and reports from press bureaus and political figures used in political speeches cannot stand up before the heavy searchlight of facts presented in State papers. One of these State papers to which I refer is the Legislative Manual. It is published under the direction of the Secretary of State, pursuant to statute. On page 615 of the Manual for 1922 are enumerated the total appropriations for the support of the State Government for the past ten years. That document shows that Governor Miller's administration in his first year was more costly to the taxpayer than the last year of my administration, and, in fact, was the most costly in the history of the State. The truth is that Governor Miller's two years in office cost the taxpayers of this State $44,090,651.95 more than my two years in office cost them. Governor Miller has drawn a very rosy picture for the taxpayers of the State when he tries to have them see 2,500 employees—referred by him as "hangers-on" to the Capitol—marching away from their public employment as a result of his efforts of economy. The actual truth is the records of the State show that the personnel of State em-

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ployment was greater in 1921 under his administration than it was in 1920 under my administration.

Despite the figures Governor Miller repeatedly asserts that he has saved money for the State, but his claim in any substantial sense is untrue. The figures of appropriations are no mystery. They appear in the official report of the Comptroller of the State of New York and for the period of Governor Miller's and of my administrations they are as follows:

GOVERNOR SMITH'S ADMINISTRATION:

1919 (See Comptroller's report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1919)	$95,840,983.77
1920 (See Comptroller's report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1920)	141,885,474.39

This does not include the appropriations made at the Special Session of the Legislature and which amounted approximately to $3,300,000.

The figures for Governor Miller's administration are as follows:

GOVERNOR MILLER'S ADMINISTRATION:

1921 (See Comptroller's report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1921)	$145,798,092.55
1922 (Comptroller's report not yet printed, but these figures are not controverted and are arrived at by adding the totals of the appropriation bills. They do not include more than $10,000,000 of appropriations made at the Special Session of the Legislature) Approximately	$139,353,449.77

Giving Governor Miller the advantage of leaving out of account the appropriations made at the Special Sessions of the Legislatures in his and in my administrations, it will be seen that in the two years of my administration the figures reached the sum of $241,060,890.37 and in the two years of his administration they reached the sum of $285,151,542.32. Now, these are the facts. No one can, in the face of these official records, deny that under Governor Miller the Legislature appropriated $44,090,651.95 more than it appropriated under my administration, and, if the special sessions

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are taken into account, the Legislature appropriated $62,000,000 more under his administration than under mine.

To explain away his excess of appropriations, Governor Miller resorts to questionable devices. Under my administration, the Special Session of the Legislature appropriated $3,000,000 for the erection of the Creedmoor Hospital for insane soldiers. This fund was available when Governor Miller went into office. It was impossible to expend it for the original purpose intended because the necessary arrangements with the Federal Government were not yet consummated. Under Governor Miller, the Legislature appropriated $3,000,000 to build a State hospital for civilians—an entirely different project than was intended in the original appropriation. Now, to prevent this $3,000,000 from appearing in the total of his appropriations it was passed in the form of a re-appropriation of the original appropriation of $3,000,000 under my administration for the Creedmoor Hospital for insane soldiers. The buildings were the same, but the purpose of my appropriation was to create a hospital for insane soldiers, the cost of which was to be *repaid* by the Federal Government. The use of the money appropriated under Governor Miller's administration was for the building of a State Hospital exclusively for civilians with which the Federal Government had no concern and consequently would not refund the cost of building it to the State. Yet Governor Miller excludes from the total of his appropriations the $3,000,000 actually used for an exclusive state purpose, and which, as passed under my administration, was nothing more or less than a loan to the Federal Government, never used; and by his process of trick bookkeeping he adds to my appropriations the $3,000,000, thus creating an utterly unjustified discrimination against me to the extent of $6,000,000, nowhere reflected in the official reports of the State Comptroller.

Then, in his campaign literature he arbitrarily deducts from his own appropriations for his first year of office the sum of approximately $10,000,000, appropriated to cover deficiencies in the funds of various departments, but he no-

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where gives me credit for the amount of appropriations made in the first year of my term to cover deficiencies inherited from the Whitman administration. Now, my administration left to the Miller administration $10,000,000, in round numbers, appropriated for highway purposes, but unexpended during my term of office. To that extent the necessity for appropriations under Governor Miller for highway purposes was reduced by $10,000,000, yet he arbitrarily charges against me the $10,000,000 of unexpended balances in the highway funds handed to his administration for expenditure. Nor does he take into account in his published statements and in his speeches that a large part of the deficiencies for which appropriations had to be made under my administration were not created by me or any of my appointees, but by other elected Republican officials, such as the Secretary of State who was serving at the time of my administration.

Governor Miller constantly refers to the increase between my first year and my second year. As a matter of fact the figures of my second year and each of Governor Miller's two years run about the same. It certainly seems fair to ask why, if the increase of expenditures between my first and second year of administration were improper, Governor Miller did not get the basis of appropriation back to my first year? The explanation of this increase is perfectly clear and it carries no imputation unfavorable to me at all and no imputation unfavorable to Governor Miller, except the mental dishonesty of attempting to mislead the electorate into believing me responsible for the increase in State expenditures. More than one-half of the increased expenditures was represented by one item, concurred in by everybody in the State, Republicans and Democrats alike—namely, the increase in the salaries of the teachers of the State amounting to more than $21,000,000, from which sum Governor Miller himself has said that he would not deduct one penny.

Then, another reason for the increase in expenditures un-

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der my administration is shown by trade statistics indicating the highest peak of prices for food, clothing and other necessities of life which had to be purchased by the State for the inmates of the various State institutions. It is shown in the report of the State Comptroller for the fiscal year 1921 that the sum of $3,574,000 was expended in the second year in his administration above the first year for capital outlays, in addition to an increase of $5,445,000 for canal construction purposes.

In 1920 the people of the State adopted an amendment to the Constitution readjusting the State's payment to the Sinking Fund for the retirement of state bonds. As a result of the amendment, Governor Miller was only required to put $11,476,000 into the Sinking Fund, whereas, under my administration, by Constitutional mandate, I was required to put in $15,584,000.

Governor Miller, as counsel for any of the great corporations he represents would never dare to lay before their boards of directors figures as disingenuously twisted or conclusions as speciously conceived as those with which he is seeking to cloud the issue before the electorate of the State of New York.

Mr. George W. Wickersham, Republican, and learned lawyer, in a speech, proved the contention that I have just made, but the State Civil Service Commission in order to back up Governor Miller's fictitious claim of reduction printed a new form of report, which has been since used as propaganda, and in which he makes a distinction between State departments and State institutions in such a way as to cover up the facts and figures.

One point in the controversy between Governor Miller and myself is strikingly brought out. It is obviously apparent that the predominating issue of the present gubernatorial campaign is Economy. That issue stands out before all other issues. Now, whether Governor Miller or I spent a little more or a little less money as compared to each other is subordinate to a much more important branch of the issue

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of Economy. What is significant is that the whole cry of economy was raised by Governor Miller as a smoke screen to hide a perfectly patent act of wrong-doing on his part by bringing to utter destruction the work of the leading men of this State, belonging to both the Republican and the Democratic parties—a work that extended over a long period of years and which was intended to effect a fundamental reorganization in the structure of the State.

At the time of the meeting of the Constitutional Convenion in 1915, thinking Republicans and thinking Democrats recognized the fact that there never could be any economy in the administration of the State government so long as that government consisted, as it still consists today, of more than one hundred and fifty inconsistent and overlapping departments and agencies, with wide distribution of responsibilities and no concentration of power and duty upon any official. At the same time they realized that the appropriation of money through the medium of a legislative budget placed the resources of the State at the mercy of the distributors of political pap. The budget then, as it is today, was made up by the legislative leaders. The law forbade the Governor then, as it forbids him today, to veto any part of a financial item. He could and can veto an entire item, but not any part of it. Therefore, when the members of the Legislature desire to secure appropriations which they or their constituents desire, they simply trade with one another, each giving to the other the appropriations they desire and then to block the Governor's power to veto these appropriations, they join the improper expenditures in the same item with absolutely essential expenditures. The Governor is, therefore, placed in the dilemma of either depriving the State of an absolutely essential appropriation or carrying with that essential appropriation an entirely improper one. Under that method it was possible to do what has been done under Governor Miller—namely, to have lump sum appropriations, with no prior public discussion of the specific purpose for which the appropriations were to be used.

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Remedies for these conditions were contained in the proposed constitutional amendment of 1915. When I took office I determined to carry into effect this salutary and necessary revision of the State government. I accordingly appointed a commission—non-partisan in every respect—to study the subject and report a comprehensive and scientific plan to me. Among the members of this commission were such leading Republicans as Alfred E. Marling, Michael Friedsam, Addison B. Colvin, Henry Evans, Mortimer L. Schiff and William M. K. Olcott.

After months of study this commission made a report to me. It recommended the passage of constitutional amendments and legislation which would require the consolidation of the more than one hundred and fifty departments and agencies of the State into eighteen well co-ordinated departments and prevent future legislatures from ever disturbing that co-ordination; which would make the Comptroller of the State wholly an auditing officer; which would centralize responsibility on the Governor by making such officers as State Engineer and others merely administrative officers, appointed by the Governor and responsible to the Governor, the Governor, in turn, being directly responsible to the people; which would create an executive budget that would forever do away with legislative log-rolling in the process of appropriations and preserve to the Governor the right to veto any item and any improper part of any item.

The report of this commission was an ideal chart for a complete business reorganization of the State's offices along lines identical with those which are followed by any capable business institution. The report of this commission won instant approval from the leading minds of the State. It was carefully examined by a special committee of the City Club of the City of New York, of which Secretary of State Hughes was chairman and Ogden L. Mills vice-chairman. Secretary Hughes' committee reported that this plan would work a revolutionary betterment in the administration of State government. It was endorsed by the Chamber of

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Commerce of the State of New York, by chambers of commerce in all the leading cities of the State, by rotary clubs and trade organizations, and it numbered among its enthusiastic supporters such Republicans as George W. Wickersham, Elihu Root, Erskine C. Rogers and United States Senator William M. Calder.

When opposition to this plan appeared I called to my support leading Republicans of the State and among others Root, Wickersham, Stimson and Saxe responded. The Republican Legislature in the last year of my office as Governor, under pressure of the influential men in its party, unanimously passed the joint resolution instituting constitutional amendments covering a large part of this program. It was necessary for it to pass the Legislature twice, and when I went out of office all forward-looking men believed that Governor Miller, my successor, would range himself in support of these proposals. He had a Legislature of his own party, admittedly entirely subservient to his will. He was not only the Governor of the State; he was the leader of the dominant party in the State, and he had but to raise his finger for basic reform. At the crucial moment Governor Miller failed to justify the hopes of the better citizens of the State. The resolutions for the second time passed the Senate. After a conference between the Speaker of the Assembly and the Governor the resolutions were held in the Rules Committee of the Assembly and the Assembly was never alllowed to vote upon them. Later on Governor Miller, in a public speech, assumed full responsibility for killing these resolutions upon which the labors of Root, Wickersham, Marling and myself had been extended during the entire period from 1915 to 1921.

There are other issues of this campaign, but unquestionably the greatest issue is "Economy"—an economy that is not proved by the juggling of a mathematical conjuror as to which Governor spent one dollar more than another Governor, but a lasting economy that would compel all future State administrations to be economically conducted.

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The Republican Press Bureau has presented a picture of Governor Miller as it wants the people of the State to believe he is.

But the record shows us the real Governor Miller.

TO MY FIRST LOVER

By GENE DERWOOD

My eyes were shadowed brooks
With pregnant light unfilled;
My mouth a round, red bird
With young song hushed unwilled,
With shy song hung unheard,
Her breast unruffled by your kiss.

My waiting fingers quivered
Unused in sought caress. . . .

The night was like a lover
To an insolent swinging moon;
The wind was like a lover
To a swaying wayward tree,
But my heart had beat too soon:

There was no love for me.

I stroked my smooth warm arm,
My like-a-flower hair;
I stood in perfumed charm,
But you—were otherwhere.

My eyes were shadowed brooks,
Dim, dark and sweet;
My mouth a round, red bird
That drooped, asleep.

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THE JOY OF WORK

By M. STORM JAMESON

THERE are two ways of believing things. One is by faith: the other through works. The former is more picturesque, and in the case of really strenuous beliefs, such as the Bolshevik belief in brotherly tyranny, is commonly adopted by parlor fanatics and other insects on the wheels of civilization. The latter comes harder on the complexion, but is responsible for most of the enduring things in this world, from the Pyramids to the Woolworth Building. Roughly speaking, the followers of all slogans come within these two human categories.

The ballad of the Joy of Work is older than is generally supposed. There is a popular but entirely erroneous feeling that it was started by interested persons to persuade dustmen to a delirious pleasure in their prosaic task. This is obviously false—if only for no other reason than that such means would be hopelessly inadequate to attain the desired end. Our descendants, enjoying a dustless, bloodless, and probably palmless Utopia, will be at a loss to explain the psychological density that prevented us from painting our dustbins scarlet and yellow, attiring our dustmen in smocks the color of the Aegean Seas and calling them the Little Brothers of Hercules—the first scavenger known to history.

Who has not seen melancholy men painting lamp-posts a district council green? Imagine those same men clad like happy children in many-hued clothes and sent out with paint and brushes to paint lamp-posts according to their heart's desire. With what ecstacy would radiant beauty leap into life from every post and railing that their brushes touched?

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We may take it, then, that the song of the Joy of Work is not another of the wicked dodges of a capitalist society. Nor is it to be explained away on climatic grounds. The man who tried to do so is the same man who explained the Englishman's modesty as due to his educational system; the Italian's fickleness by his addiction to olives—known by all unwary persons to be a slippery and treacherous fruit; and the Frenchman's frivolity by the existence of Paris. Whereas everyone knows that the English are the most boastful of races and have no educational system; that Italians are insanely constant and detest olives; and that the French are a dour race living entirely outside Paris, which has for some years been populated by Americans and other alien peoples. If a man tells you that the joy of work is a myth invented to keep people moving in cold climates, thank him politely, but refuse to be misled. When our first parents—led astray by the guile of the first advertising man—had to leave Eden and work for their living in an unfriendly world, they regarded the necessity as a curse. That was before they had tried it. They would assuredly have been excessively bored if after a few years of wrestling with the universe they had been sent back to the indolent ease of a garden they had not planted.

If you do not believe me, regard any man any Saturday afternoon on any allotment. For hours he digs frenziedly in the murderous sun. Sweat is pouring off his brow, and his bald head heliographs distress. He is lost to all save his overmastering passion to pamper cabbages. At the end of the day he staggers home, aching and limp—a debauched and wizened radish in his hand, joy in his eye and triumph in his aspect. Evoe! He has wrested her fruits from the earth. Mind has triumphed over matter. Though he die tonight, he is happy. And this is the same man who in other days, when his wife asked him to come for a nice gentle walk with her, replied, bitterly: "Is a man never to have any rest?"

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Truly, man is a strange creature, born, but not understanded of woman.

The most human and touching tale of the Russian Revolution is that told of a single-minded and red-handed Bolshevik put in charge of a gang of degraded bourgeois, with instructions to make the dogs work. This he did with apparent faithfulness, but at last was discovered stealthily lending a hand, and finally, lost to all sense of his position, working outright. Human passions had triumphed over artificial barriers. He was shot, of course, as a traitor. He died nobly.

It is also well known that American business men rise before dawn, tear frantically to town, and fling themselves upon the piles of correspondence that have been shot through their letter-boxes and delivered in mail-vans all through the night by relays of postmen. At breakfast-time they wring out their collars, swallow a grape-nut, and eat up the mail orders. Lunch they take in an abstraction so deep that the waiters of God's own country have for long been accustomed to pile all the courses on one plate, certain that no good American business man will notice that the salad dressing has run into the cranberry tart. Excited by an unprincipled orchestra, they leap from their chairs into motor-cars, race to Idaho to listen to the blades of wheat, and back again to corner the coming harvest. In the evening they rest themselves from the day's toil by working till dawn at Chautauquas and Committees for the Encouragement of Grey Matter. The song of the Joy of Work rings out from New England to the Rio Grande. This is what has made America what she is.

We may safely assert that the people who talk most about the joy of work are joyless persons who never do any. They have faith and smooth brows.

On the other hand, the people who actually experience it are mostly corrugated men who go home in trains and tell their wives to consider themselves very fortunate in that they are spared the dust of the arena. Whereupon their

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wives sympathize openly and smile in secret, knowing full well that if anything happened to save the victim the necessity of returning to the attack he would be profoundly miserable, and as empty-spirited as a cracked drum. For, of course, the truth is that the dust and the heat don't matter: it's the rush of the chariot and the shouting that count.

This, again, explains the apparent contradiction in the fact that some kinds of work have no joy attached to the doing of them. Our friend the dustman may even now take a meagre pleasure in his work—but how faint and wan an emotion it is compared with the fanatical enthusiasm he would know if he could be made to see himself as he is—the legitimate descendant of a line of heroes going back into a golden glory of myth and classic song.

It is entirely certain—in a life of uncertainties—that we should get no joy at all out of a world at which we could not tinker. If an angel descended in Piccadilly Circus today and presented us with a ready-made Utopia from the wells of truth we should turn from it in loathing. It is all a question of vision. An imaginative dustman must assuredly be happy in his work. The savage who discovered after much toil that he could do better in the way of water transport than a raft, could not foresee the Atlantic liner. But he could and probably did experience an exultant sense of vast achievement. He looked at his coracle and felt the future in his bones. And his work was a joy to him.

This was a pretty good world—all things considered—before the industrious German started the trouble that has made such a mess of a considerable section of it. He didn't mean well, but he has probably unbuilded better than he knew.

All kinds of work go to the rebuilding of a world. The easiest is the work done by the men on the touch-line—the same men who in the black years that are passing fought neither with hands nor brains, but "shouted like hell on Armistice night." The work that counts is done by men

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under the goad of a terrific sense of urgency and the knowledge that their work is not only supremely necessary, but worth the doing—to the world and to themselves.

The white light of the war across our shortcomings is not to be obscured now, even by the persons who were discovered when the smoke of the last guns rolled away talking hard about the new order of things, while making most of the old, to the glory of the Empire and the excess profits tax. The men actually working in that white light, straining and dragging at the vast readjustments and rebuildings that must be done, do not talk about the joy of their work. They curse and wipe their brows and get on with the job. But in the pauses of the struggle, when suddenly for a brief moment they see their work and see it whole, they do know a fierce joy born in the knowledge that they are in the service of forces tremendous enough to change the face of modernity. They feel the future in their bones. And their work is a joy to them.

TREES

By HAROLD VINAL

They shall look down upon this beauty still,
  When I have passed beyond the sight of grass,
For trees grow old with wonder of a hill,
  And aged for the look of ships that pass.
They still remember many a heated noon,
  And twilights white with birches and high stars,
And robins by a lane and a new moon,
  Flooding its light upon a lugger's spars.

If they could tell what they have seen and heard
  Of windy Junes, if they could ease their minds,
    What whispered music would go drifting by,
  What sobbing from their throats, what hush of winds,
    How still they stand under this sunlit sky,
So held by beauty they can speak no word!

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PLAYS TENDER AND TOUGH

By ROLAND HOLT

WITH few exceptions the new plays of this season have been more wholesome than those of 1921-2. The exquisite tenderness of the closing scene between the old author (Henry Miller) and Marthe, his lovely young mistress (Ruth Chatterton), in Bataille's *La Tendresse* plus other features of the play suggested the title of this review. On the side of "toughness" were the acceptance as a matter of course of the relations of these two, of the young woman's two illegitimate children by an earlier lover (prominent figures in the play), of her third lover, and of a voluptuous elder woman to console the old author during the two years' banishment of Marthe. Nevertheless there was a quality and a fineness of treatment of these delicate subjects that did give the play a pretty strong appeal. Yet spiritually it was to Barrie's *Mary Rose,* which Miss Chatterton had previously vitalized, what Tammany Hall is to Heaven.

Before taking up others of the more significant plays given since those mentioned in our October number, let us clear up the record, so we may keep the best for the last. By October 8th, the new season was pretty well under way, about thirty-five new plays had been given and but seven of them had failed, adding Richman's *The Serpent's Tooth,* Owen Davis' *Dreams for Sale,* James Forbes' *The Endless Chain* and Payne's *Dolly Jordan* to the three casualties reported earlier. One or more of these may possibly limp off onto "The Road," while Louis Evan Shipman's admirable *Fools Errant* goes there. Besides the dead, there are a number of more or less wounded plays, tickets for which may be bought in the cellar of a drug store at 43rd Street

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and Broadway for about half price, though seldom for Saturday or Holiday performances. Some of these plays were too fine or subtle for a large public.

Tenderness and toughness are sometimes found in the same plays. Of the thirty-five new plays but twelve dealt with illicit love (six of them decently) or were coarsely suggestive like *Banco* and *Why Men Leave Home.* It is hard to resist the temptation to mispronounce the last word in Maughm's *East of Suez,* the play itself was pretty tough, concerning as it did a Chinese half-breed daughter of joy and her weak victims.

In our October number we foresaw that some of the poorer plays of the season would be by authors of previous good ones. Maguire's property baby in *It's a Boy* does not "get" us as did the very real auto villain of his much fresher *Six Cylinder Love,* yet his new play is among the better half of the new crop. Richman's *Awful Truth* is pulled through by some witty lines and Ina Claire's cleverness in the unsympathetic part of a woman who is on the very point of marrying a boresome Western millionaire for his money, but decides, as did the heroines of *Wedding Bells, Banco* and other plays to remarry Husband No. 1. It is a disappointment after *Ambush,* as is Craven's *Spite Corner* after his *First Year.* Mr. Craven gives us some very clever small town types, but a thin plot. After starting a plucky fight for her home, the heroine surrenders to the law of eminent domain, and an amusing fire scene ends the play.

To complete the record we mention *That Day,* by Anspacher, author of *The Unchastened Woman.* Its heroine is that rare figure on our stage, a woman with a past, it only lasted ten days. We've also received Martin Brown's *The Exciters,* a comedy about a girl who marries a burglar, Hurlbutt's *On the Stairs,* another melodrama, like *Whispering Wires* and several others, depending on "a particularly nasty apparatus," and Percival Knight's *Thin Ice,* a comedy about a hard-drinking husband, his wife, a blue-blooded butler, et al, on Long Island, where George Middleton has

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told us in a play of his own they raise Hell instead of chickens.

We ourselves, on returning from a winter vacation, have been glad of help in picking plays in the jungle of New York's theatres, so we timidly write our choice of current ones would be in the following order:

At the Gaiety, *Loyalties,* social drama (reviewed here).

At the Longacre, *Rose Bernd,* peasant tragedy (reviewed here).

At the Plymouth, *Old Soak,* a genial comedy of tolerance.

At the Garrick, *R. U. R.,* fantastic melodrama (reviewed here).

At the Cort, *Captain Applejack,* a piratical fantasy.

At the 48th St., *Malvaloca,* romance (reviewed here).

At the National, *The Cat and the Canary,* most thrilling of trick mystery plays.

At the Vanderbilt, *The Torch Bearers,* a rough burlesque of amateur actors.

This leaves for consideration *Loyalties* the only play of the season's thirty-five so far given, that the New York Drama League takes into its exclusive Sign Post (though under "Other Plays" The League Calendar weekly gives a list of all the plays in New York with pithy comment on each) and three other plays each opening a very promising Repertory Company's Season.

Next to The Theatre Guild, perhaps THE EQUITY PLAYERS is the most promising. They did not announce their opening bill till very shortly before its first night, and frankly admitted that they had delayed in the vain hope of getting an American play. This does not sound very hopeful for the American tragedy *Hospitality by* Leon Cunningham, which they simultaneously announced to follow *Malvaloca* by the Quinteros Brothers. It would not surprise us though if the American play were the better. Let us wish with all our hearts that The Equities, having begun like The Guild with a Spanish play, may progress as splendidly as have their predecessors, certainly *Malvaloca* is a

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more sincere and beautiful play than Benavente's rococo comedy *The Bonds of Interest,* and The Equities' long cast acquitted themselves finely. Woodman Thompson's three massive and ingenious scenes made pretty much with a single setting, taken in conjunction with his designs for *Romeo and Juliet* in the July "Theatre Arts Magazine," make him an artist to watch. Like Robert Edmond Jones' earlier work his scenes fairly cried for a bit of sky, which could easily be supplied by the cyclorama which The Equities surely must possess. The Quinteros unfortunately seem to consider that "a maiden's better when she's tough," but treat Malvaloca's part so delicately that one scarcely realized that she'd earned her lovely clothes in what Mr. Fish in last season's Spanish *The Great Way* euphemistically called "The Trudge Market." That being the case, the hero's sister certainly accepted her in exceedingly fast time. There was, however, nothing unpleasant about this romantic play, and the idea that Malvaloca's soul, like La Golindrina the Convent belle, was purified by fire and cast anew was poetic, and the final scene where the lovers hear Golindrina pealing above the chants of the procession, is decidedly effective. The opening of The Equity Players is a big event in the American Theatre.

The THEATRE GUILD followed its younger rival, opening with *R. U. R.* (Rossum's Universal Robots) by the Czechoslovak Karel Capek. The Guild for self protection called it "a fantastic melodrama," that is a sort of drama libre, which, like the critique libre we are daring to give it, is subject to no rules. It was a highly original thriller, coming to a climax with a "chaste grand and general slaughter" of all mankind.

R. U. R. and *Loyalties* are the two most thought-provoking plays of our early season, even though Capek is as long-winded as Galsworthy is terse. The Guild's simple atmospheric production was masterly. Lee Simonson's two interiors, showing plenty of sky, were just right, though he has given us more successful light effects than his sunrise in

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the Epilog. We could not see how the cast could have been improved. Basil Sydney, Kathlene MacDonnell, William Devereaux, Moffat Johnston, Henry Travers and Helen Westley (with fine team-spirit appearing as a maid) were there, but the wonderful personality of the veteran Louis Calvert made him the most compelling. He played a simple kindly builder, the only man to survive. His prayer and later the scene where he blessed the new Adam and the new Eve had rare nobility. Capek, while he satirizes the employers, also shows how utterly helpless are the workmen when they have killed off The Intelligensia. It would be very interesting to see what an American dramatist might do with this play, were he to frankly substitute the Reds for the Robots. This is the third play at the Garrick notable for its wonderful automata. Before it Frank Reicher played Percy Mackaye's *Scarecrow* and Claude King and Ernita Lascelles the pathetic automata in Shaw's *Methusaleh V*.

Miss Ethel Barrymore's promise to give us four or five plays by master dramatists this season is most heartening, and her splendid performance in the opening Hauptmann's *Rose Bernd* started her season off brilliantly. It was a delightful surprise that, even as a rather stolid peasant, she looked beautiful. Three of the four costumes Robert Edmond Jones had designed for her showed her off admirably though they were subdued and in no wise those of the typical stage peasant. Mr. Jones has at last come out into the open, and gave us two effective landscapes with big skies, besides the exquisitely lit cottage of the close. For a similar part, Miss Barrymore easily equalled Mrs. Fiske's "Tess." Her wrath flamed magnificently, and we wanted her to "give the villain his due" as Tess did. She showed dumb suffering most movingly, and was eloquent in her last scene where she tells how she killed her new-born babe, to save it from misery such as she had known. As Rose's two carnal lovers and one spiritual lover, respectively McKay Morris, Dudley Digges and Charles Francis, were admirable. Miss

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Barrymore has a strong support, who should do finely in her other plays. To our taste this old play did not compare with the author's *Sunken Bell, The Weavers* or *Hannele,* but as a work of art *Loyalties* is its only rival among this season's plays thus far. The author showed beautiful reticence and good taste, even in dealing with these primitive Silesian peasants. The worst taste we have ever seen on the stage was the prolonged infanticide in Tolstoi's *Powers of Darkness.* Hauptmann's infanticide narration is almost as inoffensive as Marguerite's in the opera of *Faust,* and it is full of a wonderful compassion. This play of a beautiful hunted woman, vainly struggling to be decent, deserves to rank with Galsworthy's *Fugitive,* and would not have discredited that master-dramatist of pity. No one, who has been fortunate enough to see it, can soon forget that last scene. The faithful lover, who knows all and forgives all, though he has only just heard of the killing of the child, and intends to cherish Rose always, looks at her in a faint at his feet, and exclaims

"That girl . . . what she must have suffered,"

and the play ends.

All praise to Ludwig Lewissohn for his admirable translation and strongest hopes that we may have further plays from his Hauptmann treasury!

To close this record of these interesting, if seldom brilliant, four-weeks in our New York theatre, we take Galsworthy's *Loyalties,* universally, so far as we can find, conceded *hors concours* among our new plays. Like Capek's *R. U. R.,* it is almost devoid of love interest save for the wonderful devotion of the thief's wife. It starts out like *The Bat* or *The Cat and The Canary,* with a mysterious crime in a country house, but it only *starts out* so, and soon reveals the hollow trickery of the most mechanical and clumsily devised false clues of those other pieces. Galsworthy utterly ignores such clues, and before the end of the first act left us pretty sure who the thief was, and then on to much larger issues, involving the eternal conflict between

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Gentile and Jew, infinitely more finely presented than in the *Israel* or the hopelessly theatrical Bernstein, Galsworthy even seems to picture a society of sincere and generally likable people (in marked contrast to those in his *Skin Game*) who never mention or think of God, but run their lives, on the whole finely and conscientiously, on a scheme of ethics founded on their Loyalties. Nowhere does he say, even though he may rouse the question in some minds, "Is it better to give our thoughts and our devotion to a God, Whom from the very necessity of the case each of us must create for himself out of his imagination, or to govern our lives by our Loyalties and our love of our fellow-men?"

After the suicide of the mitigated thief, a neighbor who had been very fond of him exclaims "We've all kept faith. It's not enough." In *Justice* and *The Silver Box* Galsworthy is always calling out for, to paraphrase Kipling, "A veil to draw 'twixt man, his law and man's infirmity." And his idea may have been that had the resentful Jew submitted his injuries and suspicions quietly, friends of the gentleman-thief might have paid back the stolen money, and with Christian charity have compounded a felony. The mitigations of the theft were that Dancy used the money to pay blackmail to a woman to keep still and not make his wife suffer, that the money had been won by his own horse, that his poverty had forced him to sell to the Jew for a pittance, that the feat of the life-risking leap from balcony to balcony had fascinated him. Even so, would compounding his felony have been a so much better solution? The crispness of the dialogue in this play is a perfect joy, and we wonder if the author does not owe the suggestion of giving it in seven scenes to our own Eugene O'Neill, even though *Loyalties* is also divided into acts. A fine and absorbing play, about people whom it is a pleasure to know, full of compassion, and suggesting greater things than appear on its surface.

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WHY A REPUBLICAN CONGRESS?

By HON. NICHOLAS LONGWORTH

THE fundamental question to be determined at the coming election is whether during its second half the Harding Administration shall have the support in Congress of a majority thoroughly in sympathy with its general plans and purposes, or whether one or both branches will be controlled by a majority, not only out of sympathy with most of what has already been done and is proposed to be done, but bent on placing every obstacle possible in the way of the completion of the administration program.

There are two separate standpoints from which the desirability of re-electing a Republican Congress can be discussed: one political, in the partisan sense, and the other entirely non-political. From the latter viewpoint, is it ever desirable, under our form of government, to have a majority in Congress out of sympathy with, if not openly hostile to the Executive? Surely our experiences of such a condition, fortunately infrequent, have proved the contrary.

Under our form of government, members of the executive and legislative branches are elected for fixed and dissimilar periods. The President is elected for four years, Senators for six years and members of the House of Representatives for two years. It is impossible, therefore, that any change can be made in the control of the government so far as the executive branch is concerned within four years from the time that the President is elected. It is impossible, also, that control of the legislative branch can be changed or shifted within less than two years. This is a condition peculiar to the United States. In most important countries —in Great Britain and France, for instance, which most

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nearly resemble us in governmental administration—control of the government may be shifted over night. Under their system, governmental power is ever subject to the will of the electorate, as expressed at any moment, usually through a vote of confidence, in their most popular parliamentary body. Under ours, it is subject only to the will of the people acting directly and with due deliberation after two or four years, as the case may be. Therefore, no matter how greatly dissatisfied the people may be with any administration or a Congress at the end of two years after the presidential election, it is beyond their power to affect the control of the government in any way further than to make it difficult for it to function effectively.

Suppose that the Democratic party, as a result of the next election, should obtain a control of either or both houses of Congress, what would be the practical result? If such opposition control were effected in the Senate, it might, among other things, operate to prevent confirmation of all presidential appointments. It is difficult to imagine how that could result in anything but detriment to the public welfare. If opposition control were effected in the House, it could only be potent in preventing the passage of constructive legislation in accord with the program ratified at the last election by a majority of more than seven million votes. A Congress so organized could repeal no laws hitherto enacted; it could enact no laws in violation of the administration program. The result could only be to cripple the government of the United States to make of Congress a body impotent to respond to the public interest; to make of it, in short, a body whose sole function would be to pass the necessary appropriation bills and pad the *Congressional Record* with useless and profitless discussion.

From a purely non-political standpoint then, it is difficult to imagine how the condition above suggested could be supported, except on the theory that it was justifiable as a stinging rebuke to a President who had been grossly incompetent or unworthy, or to a party in Congress which had

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made profligate expenditure of public money, or had flagrantly violated pledges made to the electorate.

How do the facts fit in with the present situation?

His bitterest political enemy will not impugn the quality of statesmanship of President Harding, or his fineness of character. Nor will he deny that he enjoys today the full confidence of the American people as have few Presidents. As for the Republican Congress, which he called into session very soon after his inauguration, it has reduced governmental expenditures in a degree and crystalized into legislation its party pledges in a manner unexampled in the history of the nation.

When the present Congress met at the call of the President in April, 1921, the expenditures of the government for the year ending on the first of the following July were something over $5,500,000,000. For the following year—that is to say, the year ending on the first of July, 1922—the governmental expenditures had been reduced to less than $4,000,000,000, representing a saving of something over $1,600,000,000. For the present fiscal year, it is estimated that the total governmental expenditures will not exceed $3,500,000,000, or a saving over the previous year of more than $400,000,000.

In fine, as a result of the strictest sort of economy, aided by the adoption of the budget system, one of the first legislative acts of the present Congress, the cost of maintaining the government of the United States in the second year of the Harding Administration is less by more than $2,000,000,000 than it was in the last year of the administration of President Wilson.

Best of all, this colossal saving of the public money in an amount equal to twice the entire prewar cost of government, a saving unexampled in American history, was accomplished without any undue weakening of the two defensive arms of the government, the army and the navy, or the crippling of any of its civil branches. Such an unprecedented record of effective economy could have been accom-

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plished only by a party which has at all times acted with an eye single to the redemption of its pledge to reduce the cost of government.

This retrenchment of expenses and expenditures made possible the very substantial reduction of the tax burden which this Congress has effected. One of its major enactments was the passage of a law amending the then existing revenue law in many important respects. Among them, the abolition of the excess profits tax, a tax most damaging to all forms of business and particularly little as compared to big business; the reduction of the maximum war surtaxes from 65 per cent. to 50 per cent.; the repeal of all taxes on transportation; the repeal of taxes on parcels post and life insurance premiums; the repeal of the taxes on clothes, musical instruments, athletic goods, soda water fountains, and many other so-called nuisance taxes; the increase of exemptions in the income tax law applying to heads of families with a salary or wage income of less than $5,000 a year, a provision which it is estimated will favorably affect nearly 90 per cent. of the taxpayers.

The total reduction in taxes brought about by these reforms amounts to more than $800,000,000 a year, a tax reduction which at the outset of the Harding Administration seemed utterly impossible and could only have been effected by the most rigid sort of economy.

Many other problems of a complexity and importance, seldom, if ever, exceeded in our national history, confronted this administration and the Congress at the very outset. Every one of them has been squarely met and, with few exceptions, already fully solved.

Congress found a condition of depression in all branches of agriculture, amounting practically to disaster. It met that situation by the passage of the emergency tariff bill and the agricultural credits bill, and almost immediately agricultural products began to bring better prices to the producer, until now the farmer is on his feet and his purchasing power is approaching normal.

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It found a condition of war existing with Germany and other nations; it promptly terminated it.

It found a Federal Bank discount rate of 7½ per cent.; it reduced it to 4½ per cent.

It found a debt of $11,000,000,000, advanced to foreign nations upon which not a cent of interest had ever been paid, and for which the Treasury had received not a cent's worth of security. It has provided means for the funding of that debt, and for the beginning, at least, of its final extinguishment.

It found Liberty Bonds, which had been sold to the public at 100 cents on the dollar, selling in the open market for 85 cents and less. Today they are selling at par and better.

It found millions of men out of employment; today unemployment is almost unknown.

It found the gates of all our ports of entry wide open to the riffraff of the world; it closed them to those whose presence here would be plainly undesirable or dangerous.

It found the gates of all our ports of entry wide open to the products of the world, produced under conditions with which our industries could not possibly compete. It closed them to the extent, at least, that fair competition may be had and a fair chance afforded to the American producer to sell in the nation's market.

No Republican tariff has ever closed a factory, mortgaged a farm, or lost an American workingman his job. The tariff law just enacted will do none of these things, and yet it is the lowest tariff law ever passed by a Republican Congress. Its most ardent sponsor will not assert that it is perfect; no tariff law ever was or ever will be, particularly when enacted at a time when the commerce of the world was in chaos. If it were perfect now, it might well be that it would be far from perfect a few months hence, with conditions changing as they do from day to day.

It is for that reason that the law contains a provision, novel and without a precedent, which gives to the President,

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upon the ascertainment of certain facts, the power to raise or lower duties within certain fixed limits. If after ascertainment of the facts by the Tariff Commission, it develops that a certain rate of duty is less than the difference in the cost of production of the article, here and abroad, he may increase the duty to the extent of 50 per cent. Or, as an alternative, if it be an *ad valorem* duty, he may proclaim that the duty shall be assessed on the American, and not the foreign, price of the article. Per contra, if it is ascertained that the duty more than equalizes the difference in the cost of production, he may lower the duty to the extent of 50 per cent. Thus, the new tariff possesses a flexibility never before present in an American tariff law, in order that new conditions may be fairly met as they may from time to time arise.

The record of achievement above outlined ought to commend itself to thoughtful men and women. It includes a vast number of problems, some of them entirely unprecedented, all of them have been faced, and most of them satisfactorily solved, but much remains yet to be done before conditions approaching normal can be restored. Under all the circumstances, it is not remarkable that there should be dissatisfaction here and there. This administration was called upon to take up a task that no human ingenuity could have completed within two years. Shall it be permitted to finish it with its powers unfettered? That is the question to be determined at the coming election!

FIRST LESSON IN AESTHETICS

By Louis Grudin

Only wolves about their prey
know the truly ironic elation.

A festive circle of doubts,
and a young man, alertly futile,

slighted, among the trees
that rise in attitudes of salvation.

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WHY A DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS?

By HON. CORDELL HULL

IN assigning reasons why there should be a Democratic Congress elected this year, the first consideration is the interest of the country as a whole. If the last two Republican Congresses and the present Republican administration had been efficient and faithful, either in solving or attempting to solve the many post-war problems, or if they had been partially successful in attempting to find a solution for these problems, there might have been some merit in the plea of Republican leaders to continue the Republican Congress in power until it should have completed the work it had begun.

The facts are, however, that the last two Republican Congresses and the present Republican administration have notoriously failed to meet the expectations of the people or to solve any of the post-war problems, upon the proper solution of which depended the comfort, welfare and happiness of the people. These facts are admitted by Republican spokesmen and by the leading Republican newspapers of the country. Even such a distinguished member of President Harding's Cabinet as Secretary of War Weeks said, in an address at Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, June 15, 1922: "The legislative branch of our national government probably never has been at a lower ebb than it is today."

Representative Julius Kahn, Republican Chairman of the House Committee on Military Affairs, in a speech before the Actors' Order of Friendship of New York, said: "I have never known a time when the mental make-up of the House of Representatives was so low as it is today."

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Representative William R. Wood of Indiana, now the Chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, charged with the re-election of the sitting Congress, denounced it as a "Do-Nothing" Congress on the floor of the House, on November 17 last, in the following terms: "I know the very serious condition that is prevailing throughout the land. I am only speaking the truth when I say that the people of this country employed in every vocation and in every character of business are giving this Congress hell. They are doing it because we have done nothing to stimulate business. They are doing it because we have done nothing to give employment to the unemployed. They are doing it because we have done nothing to benefit the farmer and stimulate prices of the farmers' products."

The Boston *Transcript,* the Bible of New England Republicanism, in an editorial on March 3 of this year, said: "Today the record of the House of Representatives in the first year of the new administration stamps it unmistakably as the worst House in twenty years. It has done more things that it ought not to have done, and it has left undone more things that it ought to have done than any House of Representatives controlled either by the Republican or Democratic party that Washington has seen in the last decade. It has broken more pledges, it has succumbed to more pernicious propaganda, it has trespassed in more directions upon the executive authority than has any one of its predecessors in twenty years. . . . Taken as a whole the House of Representatives as controlled by the Republican party, if judged by its record to date, is unworthy of another lease of life."

The *Ohio State Journal* (Rep.), in an editorial June 21, 1922, called it a "cowardly and inept Congress."

Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, in a recent interview with the Kansas City *Star,* said: "The deplorable state into which we have fallen is not the fault of our governmental system. As a matter of fact, our system of govern-

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ment works almost to perfection with a party program or policy to work upon. The whole difficulty in this Congress is the lack of such a program or policy. . . . Almost everyone realized that this was no time to revise the tariff. The economic conditions existing at the present time are such as to foredoom that effort to failure. It is impossible to produce anything approaching a scientific tariff. And yet, with everybody knowing that, the tariff bill is permitted to drift out here.

"And so it goes—drift! It is impossible to get anywhere in Congress and it is impossible to get a negative or affirmative declaration from the White House. Conditions just move along until we get into this hopeless and absolutely deplorable mess."

Columns of such denunciation of the Republican Congress could be quoted. These are but conspicuous illustrations. The failure of the present Republican Congress has been due to lack of policies, lack of principles and lack of leadership. Concerning the so-called leaders of the two Houses of Congress, a large number of Republican witnesses could be summoned to testify against them. The leader of the Republican Senate is Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Here is what the Des Moines *Register,* the banner Republican paper of that banner Republican western state, has to say of Senate Leader Lodge:

"Senator Lodge held a position of great influence in our foreign relations. He was able to balk and hamper and hamstring the very things he had himself in other days, and days not so remote, urged upon the country. * * * The worst thing that can happen to the Republican party for the future is to keep Senator Lodge in a place of influence, or where he will seem to have influence. He is a discredited, disgruntled, mean-spirited, backward-looking, cynical old man. His day of usefulness was over long ago, if he ever had a day of real usefulness in public life. The story of his public career is going to be told in mighty few words

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when the history of the American progress is finally written."

The Republican leader of the House is Frank W. Mondell. Here is what the Manchester (N. H.) *Union,* a staunch Republican paper, has to say of Mondell as a leader: "There are many reasons why the country, particularly the Republicans of the country, ought to be profoundly grateful that Mondell's leadership of the House is nearing its close. He is a candidate for the Senate from Wyoming, and no matter what the issue may be in that contest, he will no longer remain in the House to jeopardize Republican policies and lend aid to the enemy by his bungling of a job which has always been many sizes too big for him."

Among its acts of commission, for which it merits condemnation and has received it from every quarter, including the leading Republican newspapers of the country, is the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act, which places a tax upon the American people of from $3,000,000,000 to $4,000,000,000, an amount equal to the total amount required to run the government. This tariff bill was framed originally by the multi-millionaire Ways and Means Committee of the House in the interest of special privilege. Its revision in the Senate was the result of huxtering and bartering among Senators representing special interests, in which each interest got what it wanted by giving to every other special interest what it wanted. The *Congressional Record* was filled at that time with statements by Republican Senators admitting that the bill had no scientific basis and that the time was inopportune for revising the tariff.

Equally unscientific was the tax revision bill, which relieved the multi-millionaire and profiteering class of over a half billion dollars in taxes while it increased the taxes of all small corporations 25 per cent and gave no relative relief to the individual small taxpayer. The reckless appropriations of the Congress have only been equaled by the extravagant expenditures of the administration.

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The Republican Congress and administration, working together, have re-enthroned special privilege at the capital of the nation, filled Washington with professional lobbyists, made a mockery of the Civil Service, and have broken or ignored every promise made to the people in the campaign of 1920.

The inefficiency and incompetency of the present Congress are even more glaringly shown by what it has omitted to do. It has failed to keep its promises to reorganize and consolidate the government departments and to reduce the number of employees; to effect large savings or savings of any kind; to establish a merchant marine policy; to establish a working permanent immigration policy; to restore reciprocal foreign markets; to prosecute criminal profiteers and suppress profiteering; to establish any industrial policies offering a just and peaceful settlement between capital and labor—its only labor policy has been the use of the injunction; to solve the transportation problem; to provide for better farm credits relating to production and distribution and for cheaper farm and other transportation; to put into practical operation the budget system, originated by Democrats, with the result that the treasury was obliged to postpone payment of accrued obligations for 1923 in order to show a paper balance for 1922, and the further result that the treasury now faces a deficit of $850,000,000 for the current fiscal year; to settle the Mexican problem; to reduce rent, fuel and the high cost of living; to equitably reduce internal taxes; to effect either a practical or sensible revision of the tariff; to propose any definite foreign policy; to establish an association of nations; to enforce the Jones Shipping Law after threatening to impeach Wilson for his refusal to do so; to observe either the letter or the spirit or the policy of the Civil Service Law; to enact a workable foreign debt settlement law; to utilize the Muscle Shoals project for the benefit of agriculture; to prevent the Republican industrial panic of 1921-22.

The election of a Democratic Congress is necessary to put

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a stop to extravagant appropriations and expenditures; to undo as far as it is possible to undo the injury done to business, to agriculture and other natural industries, to labor and to the people generally, by the work of the present Republican Congress, and to formulate and pass constructive and progressive legislation based upon sound principles and policies that will at least make a start toward the solution of those great problems which the present Congress and present administration have failed or refused to solve.

The election of a Democratic Congress this year is the only means the people have to rebuke and punish the existing Congress for its failures of commission and omission; it will put a check upon the headlong course of the present administration and will enable the people to judge accurately between the two parties with respect to their policies so that voters may intelligently decide which party shall have full control of the government in 1924.

The Democratic party does not base its campaign in the coming election on fault-finding alone. It stands for definite policies: a tariff for revenue, and not for special privilege; equitable and just taxation to meet the legitimate expenses of the government economically administered; justice to the American soldier; agricultural credits fitted to the peculiar needs of the farmer and stockman; a merchant marine without subsidies or special privileges; a workable budget system; administration of the Civil Service in good faith; a fair and just reclamation policy; the restoration of our foreign markets; liberal aid to good roads construction; means of promoting a better understanding between labor and capital, with a fair deal, a living wage and reasonable working hours for the laboring man; means for preventing members of Congress in both Houses from voting for their own selfish interests at the expense of the people; the eradication of Newberryism; the elimination of useless jobs and rigid economy in every branch of government; a foreign policy which restores our former high and commanding position in international affairs and inaugurates a better relationship with friendly nations.

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Eight years of Democratic rule gave to the nation more constructive and progressive legislation than in the previous sixteen years of Republican rule, including the Federal Reserve Bank system and the present income tax law, with more sound legislation applying to labor, to agriculture, to business and to humanitarianism than ever before in the history of Congress. There is no better evidence than this of what the Democratic party can and will do when entrusted with power.

There is no good reason why the election of a Democratic Congress would deadlock legislation for the next two years, as alleged by the Republicans. There could be no more effective corrective for the Republican party than a Democratic victory. If it wished to profit by that chastening at the hands of the people, it would not attempt to oppose legislation in the interest of all the people, but would seek to rehabilitate itself by friendly co-operation. On the other hand, if it persisted in its alliance with special privileges, in its reckless extravagance, in its deadly reactionism, then it were better for the country that legislation should be deadlocked until the Democrats take charge of the government in 1924.

Throughout the present Congress the Democratic minority has sought consistently to be helpful, and it can be truly said that it was successful in bringing about the passage of practically all the commendable legislation passed. Only for Democratic amendments much of the bad legislation would have been worse. How much more helpful then could the Democrats be when in a majority.

There are historical precedents for the election of a Democratic Congress this year, following the enactment of the infamous Fordney-McCumber profiteering tariff bill. The McKinley high protective tariff of 1890 cost the Republicans the House that year, and the presidency two years later. The Payne-Aldrich high protective tariff of 1909 cost the Republicans the House in 1910 and the presidency two years later. History is again repeating itself.

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AROUND THE EDITORIAL TABLE

WITH the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George from the Premiership of Great Britain, the last of the great Allied War Ministers has passed away. Wilson, Clemenceau and the Premiers of the lesser powers have long since passed on into private life. Lloyd George, alone, by the brilliancy of his Parliamentary knowledge has been able to remain in supreme control. What he has accomplished in his seven years of undivided control of the country is too much to be told here; suffice it is to say that he has guided the Empire with wisdom and moderation through some of the stormiest seas it ever has had to encounter. Ireland, Egypt and India are but three of the gigantic tasks he has had to deal with —and no one can say that he has not labored hard in the cause of peace in all these three countries.

The future looks none too brilliant for England today. The Conservatives, through whose defection the Coalition has at last expired, have been called upon by the King to form a Ministry and it is reported that Mr. Bonar Law is already trying to rally his supporters around him. But a list of the Conservative leaders make sorry reading to anyone but a student of Burkes. Ultra-Conservatism, as the term is meant when used in connection with such men as Lords Salisbury, Derby, Selbome, was laid to rest in 1914; today it does not properly exist, and it would seem highly unlikely that such a Ministry would be able to survive for any length of time. That their course will be reactionary goes without saying. The cries that have already met Mr. Lloyd George's policy of moderation in Ireland and Egypt are too loud to be misunderstood, and it is to be feared that the use of troops and force will once more be enforced in Ireland. It would seem, therefore, that if Mr. Lloyd George does not wish to see the policies, for

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which he has fought so long, all put to naught that he will once again enter the list to make a fight against the Conservatives. All his friends have stayed loyally beside him and there is no doubt that he will have a large portion of the country with him.

That a break in the Coalition Government was bound to come has been evident for some time and it is undoubtedly better that it should be so. It would seem, however, that domination by the Conservative party at a time like this might prove of great injury to the British Empire.

* * *

Nothing is so elementary as the fact that the use of profanity or vulgarity in discourse reveals an empty mind and that the person who is unable to emphasize his cause only with profanity has either a weak cause or a weak understanding of it. We have never known of a really great man who was obliged to carry his point, but rarely, with explosives.

Theodore Roosevelt, who was one of the most vigorous characters this country ever knew, swore but on the rarest occasions, and when he did, there wasn't any human being that would have questioned his utterances on the ground of taste.

The work that General Charles G. Dawes has done in Washington in reducing and co-ordinating the expenses of the national government is deserving of great commendation, but when General Dawes appeared at a public dinner in New York City several weeks ago and addressed an intelligent and respectable audience in a manner unsuited to the occasion and degrading to himself because of his profuse profanity, he hurt a splendid cause. When, however, he referred to the Congress of the United States as "a lot of cowards" and to the Cabinet members of the Government as "Commanche Indians," he revealed his impudence and his ignorance.

We have just taken down the "Who's Who" and we find nothing in General Dawes' record that justifies his assuming the attitude of moral

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superiority, and surely nothing either in his record or in his utterances reveals the mental equipment that would give him the right to pose as such a severe critic of the government. The faults of the system everyone knows, but it ill-becomes a man, even if he is trying to do the right thing, to assume that, because he is honest in his intention, he is the only man who is honest. We can overlook possibly his "damns" and his "hells," pitying, of course, his inability to express himself without those thoroughly unnecessary explosions; we might even forgive his injunction to the man who was trying to introduce him politely:

"Aw, cut that out!"

But a public man occupying the prominent position of General Dawes should realize that every time he talks in a disrespectful and inflammatory way about the Government, he is furnishing material to the thoughtless and superficial and is undermining the thing that, after all, is basic in a republic—the respect and affection that a democratic people must have for their institutions.

When, we wonder, will misguided men in public life learn that the great mass of the people in a democracy abhor vulgarity; that the soul of democracy is in its essence poetic because it is aspiration, because it represents the struggle of the past over mean conditions and the hopes of the future for higher things? The man in the street may love to go about collarless and coatless, but he does not want his representatives and his leaders, who are his ideals, to imitate him. It was not so many years ago that a brilliant political career was wrecked in New York City—when J. Sloat Fassett, then a candidate for Governor, thought to intrigue his audience at a meeting on the Bowery one night by removing his coat and making his speech in his shirt sleeves. That act cost him the governorship of the State of New York, for the people whose interest he thought would be engaged by that action rebelled at his condescension and angrily rejected what he considered an overture.

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DISCUSSIONS ABOUT BOOKS

*OUR LABOR PROBLEMS**

THIS is a work which should be in every library in our country. It is a very studious exposition of the labor and social problems now being discussed in every corner of the civilized world. It tells of the nature of these problems, the emergence of labor problems in England, the development of labor problems in the United States; it has an analysis of these problems, such as the standard of living, wealth, income and wages, the determination of wages, hours of labor, child labor, women in industry, human waste in industry, unemployment, labor turnover, immigration, and industrial unrest. It gives the history of labor organizations, of employment associations. It speaks of the adjustment of industrial disputes, it tells of shop committees and industrial councils, personal administration, profit sharing, and labor co-partnership, industrial education and training, co-operation, socialism, labor legislation, and social insurance. It is a masterful history of all the subjects mentioned, and is a very valuable work for all libraries of reference and for all students of these problems, and for future historians who are inclined to expatiate on these important, even vital topics. I am hoping, however, with all my heart that in a future work Professor Watkins will suggest fundamental, practical methods for solving these problems which are of equal importance to the man on the street, to the women who now have the franchise, and to every voter of our country, high and humble. What we need, I feel, are more works of the same high ability as that displayed in this volume, which tell us of remedies for the settlement of these problems. We find almost every man and woman we meet, either in social or business life, discussing these problems, and nearly all are scooting about, mentally speaking, for suggested practical remedies, for a safe, sane, progressive program by which these problems may be definitely settled. Perhaps there can be no real settlement while men and women remain selfish, while labor union leaders remain selfish, while some of these unwise labor leaders mislead their followers, while capitalists and industrial leaders are selfish and mislead their followers. I do not expect the millenium, but as I say, thinking people all over the world are mentally hungry for suggested solutions of the great economic and social problems now confronting every civilized nation on earth.

—EDWARD G. RIGGS.

*An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems, by Gordon S. Watkins, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Illinois. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York.

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AN ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGIONS*

COMPARATIVE religion now having become a recognized science, it is fitting and necessary that there be brought together in one volume definitions and brief explanations of the important dieties, rituals, sacred writings and ceremonies, not only of modern and occidental beliefs, but also those of the ancients and the orientals.

This information is, of course, accessible in innumerable volumes, each of which deals with its one subject, and the lay encyclopedias contain excellent and numerous articles which thoroughly cover the ground, but heretofore there has been no handy, comprehensive single reference work.

Professor Canney has been very thorough. Being the first compilation of its kind, it naturally can stand expansion—a fact which he himself very readily admits in his preface. He adds the promise that if this effort be accepted, new material may be added—a promise which must be kept, for this volume is indeed acceptable.

This volume will prove to be not only a necessity to the student of religion, but to the layman as well. As our contact with the East was so rapidly accelerated as a result of the war, our interest has passed from its economic phases to a study of its literature and this will make an understanding of its religions necessary to the cultivated reader. Comparative history, too, has created desire to know more of the religions of other peoples and times, and no better sole sources of information on the latter has as yet been at hand.

—G. S. YORKE.

* "An Encyclopedia of Religions," by Maurice A. Canney, M.A. E. P. Dutton and Company.

DEPLETING THE COUNTRY*

AMERICANS of every shade of opinion and every angle of vision have cause to feel grateful to Edward A. Ross for the great care and patient industry he applied to his self-imposed task of analyzing the complex social condition of America at present. He has embodied the results of his researches in a volume entitled "The Social Trend," which bears the imprint of the Century Company. Mr. Ross in broad strokes covers the entire field of the complicated and closely interlocked interests which constitute our national structure. While the author confines himself closely to the social side of our national life, he inevitably touches upon its economic phase in his exhaustive probe.

It is economic rather than the purely sociological revelation which impresses me as being of profound value.

* "The Social Trend," by Edward A. Ross. The Century Company.

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Under the chapter headed "Folk Depletion and Rural Decline," the writer touches upon a subject of the greatest possible concern to all sorts and conditions of Americans.

By "Folk Depletion" Mr. Ross has at once very happily phrased and clearly defined a condition which it is not going too far, in my judgment, to declare to be more seriously threatening to change radically our national character, a change fraught with great danger. It is this folk depletion which for the first time in the country's history has resulted in swelling the urban population to 52 per cent as against the rural population of 48 per cent.

The causes of this rapid concentration of our population in the cities through the depletion of the rural districts are to be sought deeper down than the mere social surface. They lie at the very root of an economic system that already has gone so far astray that it can be corrected only by the greatest care and earnest work in co-operation on the part of our leaders of public thought and activity.

It is obvious that the centripetal forces which during the past decade have been drawing our population from the farms to the cities are to be considered as an abnormal operation. It is not the social urge or the hard instinct that is doing this. Plainly, it is to be accounted for only from the fact that the farm no longer pays. It is a fact so patent that it does not need to be argued that when any group of people is economically prosperous it is socially satisfied.

So informative and significant is "The Social Trend" that I hope that it will be freely read by the thoughtful and clear-headed men and women in America. —B. F. YOAKUM.

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*RUSSIA AND THE EAST**

THESE two volumes contain the lectures delivered by Baron Korff, formerly Professor of Russian Law and History, University of Helsingfors, Finland, and Bulgarian Minister Panaretoff, at the Institute of Politics at Williams College last summer.

Baron Korff divides his main subject into eight lectures on the relations, since the Congress of Berlin, of Russia with France, England, China, Japan, Austria-Hungary, the Balkan States, Germany and Sweden. This treatment inevitably involves repetition which, however desirable in public lectures, is rather trying to a reader. Moreover, in his very successful attempt to make clear the intricacies of Russian diplomacy to an audience made up predominantly of laymen, the lecturer has reduced his narrative to an encyclopedic but clear recital of well-known facts with significant interpretations or conclusions. Often the text betrays signs of hasty

*"Russia's Foreign Relations During the Last Half Century," by S. A. Korff, and "Near Eastern Affairs and Conditions," by Stephen Panaretoff. The MacMillan Co.

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preparation. Many of the merits of these lectures as spoken addresses stand out rather startlingly in the printed volume as irritating, if not serious, defects. Baron Korff's general treatment is not interesting enough to hold the general reader, nor profound enough to interest the student.

In his last chapter, that devoted to secret diplomacy, the lecturer makes a significant contribution. Foreign relations have, he points out, a double function. One of these "consists in acts that create a legal obligation for the state (or nation). All treaties, obligations, understandings and agreements would come under this head. The other function is constituted by the daily intercourse of states (or nations), the transactions which do not create any legal obligation; diplomacy in the technical meaning of the word, conversations between foreign secretaries and diplomatic representatives. The first function invariably binds the state in some way or other, the second one does not affect its legal obligations, but usually prepares the way for the acts of the first group." The first of these functions, he insists, should be guarded by the fullest possible publicity. "When this is well assured, secrecy can be admitted concerning the diplomatic negotiations in all the preparatory stages." Put thus unqualifiedly, this last conclusion is open to grave doubt.

Interesting and even stimulating as were the lectures by Baron Korff and Minister Panaretoff as lectures, and despite the pleasure which the reviewer had in listening to these two distinguished scholars, candor requires the statement that it is at least doubtful whether these addresses should have been published in their present form and whether "The Institute of Politics Publications" are not falling between two stools. The lectures contained in these two volumes are neither popular nor scholarly in the best sense. They are rather a little of both. —M. KINGSBURY PATTERSON.

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*THE THREEFOLD COMMONWEALTH**

WHAT the purpose of a book review is may be a matter for doubt. In the opinion of the present reviewer that purpose can only be to express, insofar as may be possible in a limited space, the purpose of the author and some conclusions as to whether he accomplishes that purpose.

It is quite impossible to do that in this instance within the space available here. Dr. Steiner is a well known writer and the Threefold Commonwealth is a well known proposal for the use of mankind as a guide to his better gregarious existence. In brief, it says: that portion of a man's thoughts which consider his right to live on equality with his species has no connection with that portion of his thoughts which has to do with his commercial relations; nor has either anything to do with that portion

* *The Threefold Commonwealth,* by Rudolph Steiner, Ph.D. MacMillan Company.

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of his thoughts which considers himself as an individual independent of all mankind.

When he considers—to be commonplace for the moment—his position as a voter, he is a different man from the one who considers his business. When he considers his own ambitions, hopes and ideals he is a totally different man from the one who considers business or government. Whenever anyone of the three interferes with the other two the proper course of social life is checked. Whenever a business man says, "I want a tariff because it will help my business," this interference is taking place. Whenever he says, "I believe the state should educate children, or own or conduct commercial enterprises," this interference is again taking place. Whenever labor unions try to influence legislation by strikes or direct action of any kind, they are interfering with the proper course of social life. Whenever associations of business men lobby at the seat of government they are doing the same thing.

To find a solution of this problem, to learn how economic life, government life and spiritual life may work independently, yet for the general good, you must read the book itself. It is now first published in translation, though it appeared first in German in 1920.

It is a pity that the translation should be so badly done. The English reader has to thread his way through a mass of terrific sentences in order to get at the author's meaning. This is not a criticism of the translator. It is only a proof that no translation of a philosophical work can ever be really satisfactory, when translated from the German language into the English language. The only way is for the translator to become an editor and to adapt the author's ideas into a totally new book and a totally new medium—the second language.

Dr. Steiner says several times that his work will be called Utopian. That would seem to be a fact. It is Utopian. But this does not mean that the world may not in time come to his point of view or that such ideas put before the public by means of publications do not have a beneficent effect. It merely means that at present, under existing conditions, in the actual state of civilization throughout the world, it is merely an idea which may or may not eventually arrive.

None of us would maintain that the present state of America, to say nothing of Europe, is so perfect that there is no room for improvement; none of us would deny that men like Dr. Steiner will gradually year by year educate mankind to consider new and untried views. The greatest boon to humanity is the gift of skepticism, of doubt, of questioning whether things may not be improved. Insofar as Dr. Steiner stimulates this skepticism he is doing good; and insofar as he is doing good, he and his book are certainly worthy of praise.

LUCAS LEXOW.

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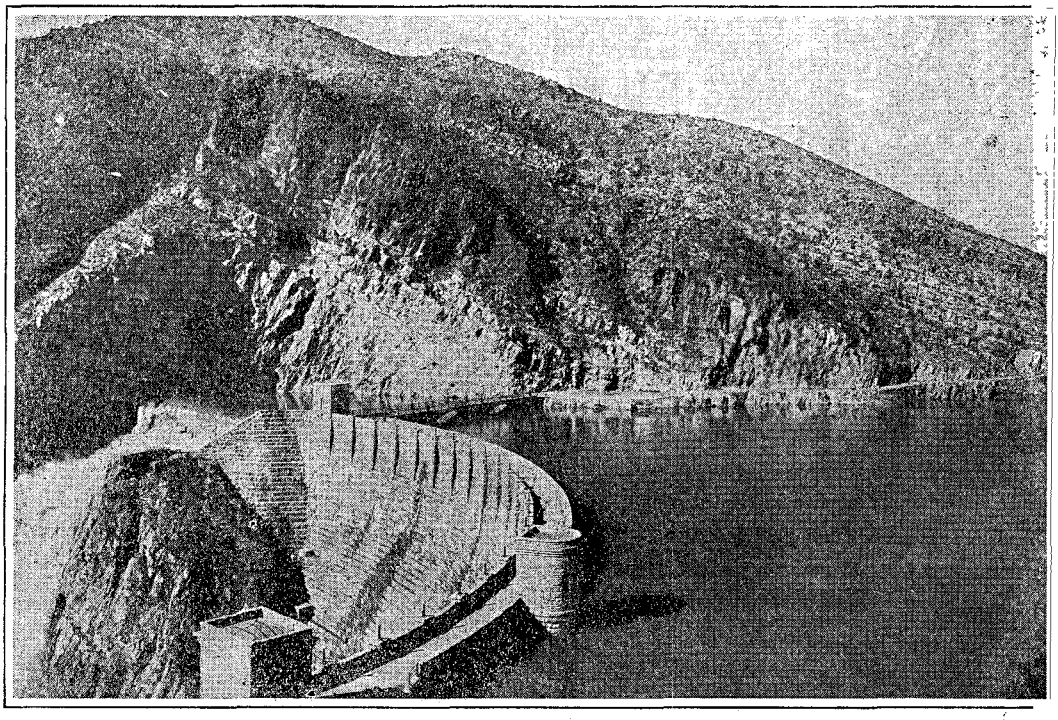
DON'T MISS THE APACHE TRAIL

Wonders of the Motor Trip Over This Famous Arizona Highway

BY EVERETT FRANKLIN



Roosevelt Dam and Lake, One of the Mightiest Engineering Accomplishments of All Time

YOU said good-bye to Globe in the early morning—fascinating Globe with its great copper mines, its gray smelter smoke and its air of mystery. For seventeen miles you climbed, climbed, climbed, the easy gradations and curves of the road, leading your motor on and on until you reached an altitude of almost a mile. There was a change in the very atmosphere itself as with a rush your car breasted the summit. Nature, rugged and terrible with the strength of barbaric spaces, now stretches before you.

Regard those colors! Blues, sapphires, oranges, reds, and greens spill off the sides of the crags, precipices and mountains like paints off a palette. Great blue spaces arch overhead and a cool breeze is blowing. Al though you know that these are tremendou distances, it seems as though you had bu to stretch out your hand to grasp the Apach Mountains.

The scenery is wild, awe-inspiring, dif ferent from anything you have seen before For all you know, you might be really an in fact in the "Valley of the Moon."

The surprising thing about this Apach Trail trip is that it is so easy to make. I involves no hardships or even a special jour ney. You simply make it a part and parce of your trans-continental jaunt to or fro California.

The Apache Trail, once the haunt of ferc

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